

Thomas Burnet, L. L. D.

(Master of the *Charter-House*.)

OF THE

S T A T E

Of THOSE that are to

R I S E.

Translated from the LATIN ORIGINAL.
With an Answer to all the HERESIES therein.

By Mr. *EARBERT*.

The LAST PART.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Y E A R

M. DCC. XX. VIII.

Thomas Burnett, I. E. D.

(Master of the Charter House)

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STATUTE

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Translated from the Latin Original
by an Abbot of the Charter House

By Mr. R. R. B. R.

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The Whole

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De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium.

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CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the first, and last Resurrection;
the new Heaven, and the new Earth; and
the Restoration of Nature; the millenary
Reign of CHRIST; and the Consumma-
tion of all Things.*



WE have before observed the two-fold Resurrection; the first partial and particular, and finally the supream and universal one. This Distinction is not very obvious from the Sacred Writings, and is explicitly mentioned, if I am not mistaken, only in the *Revelations* of St. John: Though this prejudices not the Truth of those Things,

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Things, and is not intirely dissonant to the Manner of the Holy Spirit. In the Old Testament, the Prophets concealed the explicate mention of the two-fold Coming of the *Messiah* from the *Jews*; from whom it is equally concealed to this Day. Neither ought therefore this slow Revelation of a double Resurrection by Providence to be objected, or that the Mystery is reserved to the latest Prophecies, whose Business it was to open all the Scenes of Fortune, either good or ill, attending the Christian Church to the Consummation of all Things; and therefore Place, Time, and Opportunity would not permit this millenary Reign of Christ, and the Resurrection of the Saints, to be passed over in Oblivion: Thus in the twentieth Chapter of this Prophecy, this Mystery, hidden from Ages before, is openly laid down and explained.

From this Errour and Ignorance of the *Jews*, concerning one only Coming of the *Messiah*, many more Mistakes have flowed. From hence, confounding his second Coming with the first, they expected a glorious *Messiah*, illustrious in the Fullness of his Power. Thus they transferred all that related to that second Coming promiscuously to the Days of the *Messiah*, and trusted to a Resurrection in those Days; to a new Heaven, and a new Earth, and all the other most pregnant Marks of happy Ages, foretold by the Prophets to happen under the *Messiah*. Lastly, the Age to come for all these great Things they refer to the Days of the *Messiah*, to whom they reserve Justice, divine Government, and Plenty of all Things; the certain, and indeed the true Expectation of the *Jews*, if referred to the latter Coming of the *Messiah*: But from not distinguishing rightly these
Times

Times and Seasons, the Errors and Confusions in the Computation of the *Jews* have sprung.

In the same Manner their Authors, by not distinguishing the first and second Resurrection, have brought Obscurity and Dissention upon the Doctrine concerning the Condition and Nature of our Bodies in the Resurrection; some contending for Flesh and Blood, and an organical Structure, like to our Bodies in our present State: others have attenuated our gross Bodies into an *Æthereal* and slender Substance. They may be both right in their Turns, if we regard the Times and different Resurrections. In the First, upon this Earth, our Bodies will be terrestrial and formed as they are now: But after the Millennium and Ascension into Heaven, our Bodies will be *Æthereal* and *cœlestial*, as the Place and an angelick Life require. This Ascending into Heaven, and second Resurrection, is preceded by the Renovation of the World, and the millenary Reign of Christ; two very momentous Points, of which I shall say something, but less, as I have enlarged on the Subject before in *The Theory of the Earth*, Book I.

After that general Conflagration and Reduction of the Earth into a Chaos, from that Chaos, by the divine Power and Wisdom, a new Earth like the old Paradisaical one will arise, without Mountains, Seas, and Rocks. The new Heaven will be serene, purged from noxious Vapours; and a perpetual Spring, without the incommoding Vicissitudes of Seasons, of Summer and Winter, will prevail: Concerning which Phænomenons, unknown to our present Age, and the Causes thereof, we have treated in the aforesaid Book (a). This Re-

(a) *Theory* Chap. V. and IX.

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novation of the World, Antiquity both Sacred and Profane, hath celebrated, as we have before proved. *Isaiah* (a) among the rest, foretels twice new Heavens, and a new Earth, and the Marks thereof Longævity, or rather the Immortality of the Inhabitants, and the Perpetuity of their Seed. *St. John*, in his Visions concerning the New *Jerusalem* (b) says, *He saw a new Heaven, and a new Earth*, and adds this Mark thereof, *That there was no Sea*. This Resurrection of the World (c) is called by Christ *παλιγγενεσία*, Regeneration, by which is understood the World's Pre-existence, Destruction, and Renovation. It is called by *St. Peter* in like Manner, in his Sermon to the *Jews*, the *ἀποκατάστασις*, the Restitution of all Things (d), and has frequently the Mark of being the Time of Retribution; and the Age to come. *St. Paul* frequently hints at this future Renovation of the World (e). First he calls our human Nature a Subjection to Vanity; and says, *We shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, and have the glorious Liberty of the Children of God*. And we have before proved, the Apostle refers here to the natural World. Lastly, *τὴν οἰκισμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν* that World shall be habitable, when this is passed away, and subject to Christ as its proper Lord and Master, as the Apostle observes (f). But more plain and evident than all these is *St. Peter*, in his second Epistle and third Chapter, in which he treats upon this Subject distinctly; he asserts new Heavens, and a new Earth, and distinguishes the antediluvian from the modern ones. But as this of *St. Peter* is an ir-

(a) *Isa.* lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22. (b) *Rev.* xxi. 1. (c) *Matt.* xix. 28, (d) *Acts* iii. 21. (e) *Rom.* viii. 21. (f) *Heb.* ii. 5.
refragab

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refragable Place, it will not be improper to insist a while upon the same.

The Oppugners of this Opinion turn all that is said by the Prophets, concerning a new Heaven and a new Earth, into Allegory: But the Words of St. *Peter*, concerning a new Heaven and a new Earth, will not bend from their literal Sense to an allegorical one; it is explicate, and in every Respect tending to prove the Mutability of natural Things, and the three-fold State of the World: I say, that natural World, pointed at by the Scoffers, *Ver. 3.* We all know by Heaven and Earth, the *Hebrews* always meant the visible, or natural World. Let us attend to the Apostle's Words concerning this, *viz. Ver. 11, 12, 13.* *Seeing then that all these Things shall be dissolved, what Manner of Persons ought ye to be in all holy Conversation and Godliness: looking for, and hasting unto the Coming of the Day of God, wherein the Heavens being on Fire, shall be dissolved, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat? Nevertheless we, according to his Promise, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.*

There are many other Marks in these Words of the Apostle, compared with the preceding ones, which restrain the new Heavens and new Earth to the natural and visible World: *First*, the Strength, Use, and Signification of the Words and Phraseology antecedently: Then, the Formation and Structure of the whole Discourse together: *Lastly*, the Time to which it refers. From all these it follows, the Apostle speaks of the true, real, material Heavens and Earth; not the allegorical and imaginary ones. As to the first Mark, this Method of speaking occurs thrice in the same Chapter; in the 5th Verse, *The Heavens and the Earth that were*

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of old, i. e. the antediluvian World that was past: Then in the 7th Verse, *The Heavens and the Earth which are now*, i. e. the present postdiluvian World: Lastly, in the 13th Verse, *New Heavens, and a new Earth*; i. e. which are to be after the Conflagration. Whereas therefore it is unanimously agreed, that Heavens and Earth in the 5th and 7th Verses, are literally understood of the material and natural Heavens and Earth; by what Law or Rule of Interpretation can we turn the same Phrase, in the same Chapter, in the same Series and Concatenation of Argument to another Sense? that in the first and second Places it shall mean the natural World, and in the third the allegorical and figurative one? and all this, without any Alteration of Stile in the Author, or in the subject Matter before him?

Secondly, The Formation and Structure of the whole Discourse, the Method and Coherence thereof. When the Apostle had described the burning of this present World, he adds, *We look for new Heavens, and a new Earth*, i. e. in the room of those burnt and perished: They must therefore be of the same Nature, material, not allegorical Heavens and Earth. It is the same as though the Apostle should say, though the present Heavens and Earth are to perish, as we have said, yet this will not be the End of Things, as ye imagine, but a renewing of the same; for we expect, according to the Promises of God, other Heavens and Earth to succeed, which the Just shall inhabit.

Thirdly, and Lastly, As this new World and Renovation is not to begin till after the general Conflagration, the Time will not permit it to be understood of any evangelical Renovation, or any other (as our allegorical Gentlemen will have it) in

in this Life. These Arguments, in my Opinion, beyond Contradiction prove the Heavens and Earth here, according to the Apostle, *Κατὰ κυριολεξίαν* must be taken according to the natural Strength and Force of the Words.

We justly blame the *Socinians* for corrupting the Sense of the Scriptures, for turning what St. *John* says in the Beginning of his Gospel concerning the natural World, into a moral and figurative Sense: yet they fall into the same Absurdity, who make the material World mentioned by St. *Peter*, a metaphorical and allegorical one. I may venture to affirm, the natural World is not more plainly hinted at in the Beginning of this Gospel of St. *John*, than in the said Chapter of St. *Peter*, by the new Heavens and new Earth it is again pointed out.

From hence we conclude, *The natural World, the Heavens and the Earth will be renewed after the Conflagration.* We come therefore to our second Conclusion, to be proved, that *the Millennium or millenary Reign of Christ, is to be celebrated in the renewed World, or new Heavens and new Earth.*

The Millenary Reign of Christ was an uncontested orthodox Doctrine, conveyed through all the primitive Ages. The Corruptions introduced by the present Millenarians, who have fixed upon a more modern Situation, and have taken care for present Felicity equal to their Wishes, have warmed several fanatick Imaginations, and blown their vain Hopes into Tumults, to the Offence and Scandal of wise and discreet Men, and have cast a Slur upon this innocent, though in some measure hated, Opinion. To oppose this Torrent of Evils, I shall think it not lost Labour to explain what the

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antient Fathers thought of this Kingdom, and when it would be, in as few words as I can.

As to the Point it self, that there shall be a millenary Reign of Christ upon Earth, we have before proved from the sacred Oracles of the Apostles and Prophets. The most antient Fathers are witnesses in this Case, of all Nations, *Greeks, Latins, and Africans.* Of those are PAPIAS Bishop of *Hierapolis*, JUSTIN MARTYR, the Author or Interpreter of the *Sibylline Verses* before *Justin*, the Author of the Epistle under the Name of St. *Barnabas*, IRENÆUS, MELITO SARDENSI, METHODIUS. Moreover, TERTULLIAN, and his Disciple CYPRIAN, *Africans.* NEPOS *Episcopus Egyptius*, VICTORINUS PETAVIONENSIS, and LACTANTIUS, *Latins.* They all lived within the first three Centuries of the Church, in the most Apostolick and incorrupt Ages thereof. (a) Some of these Fathers asserted, the whole Church in their Times, and all *Christians* who had any regard to Truth and Purity, agreed in the same; others said they had it from St. *John*, and from Apostolical Tradition.

Over and above these Testimonies, so nearly affecting our Purpose, we have other Arguments deduced from the Histories of those Ages. This notion of a Kingdom was looked upon as a *Christian* Opinion, not only by the *Christians*, but even the *Heathens* themselves. I say by the *Heathens*, about whom the Error hung of a King expected by the *Christians*, whom they charged with Ambition and the Spirit of Discord, in forming Schemes for a Kingdom of this World. To this the abovesaid *Justin*, in his Apology for the *Chri-*

(a) See *Gennadius Tychonius* in BB. pp. and in the *Orthodoxographers.*

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Christians to *Antoninus Pius*, refers in the following manner. (a) You having a Notion of a Kingdom expected by us, without Distinction or Judgement, suppose it to be a human one; when we mean no more thereby, than that Kingdom in which we are to reign with God. With this the *Christians* frequently warmed each other, to undergo the Pains of Death; the Martyrs being admitted to a Partnership in this Kingdom, who had suffered for the Cause of Christ. This the *Heathens* understood of a modern Kingdom, and a Conspiracy against the publick Peace. *Justin* obviates this Objection in the following Words. “Whereas we voluntarily
“meet Death in the Cause of Christ, as our Choice
“and Desire, ’tis plain we have no Hopes of
“any Kingdom in this World; for we should
“not by that means so willingly cast all away
“by an immature Excision.”

’Tis moreover argued from the Acts of *Domitian*: For as *Herod*, upon the Birth of Christ, apprehended least the Fame of a *Messiah* expected by the *Jews*, to restore their Kingdom, should snatch his away; so the Emperor *Domitian* ordered all of the Stock of *David* to be destroyed (b), and examined the Relations of Christ, concerning his Kingdom, when, and where it was to be (c). This was occasioned by the free Discourses of the *Christians*, about the (d) future Kingdom of Christ upon Earth.
So

(a) Ὑμεῖς ἀκρίτως βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ θεῶν λέγοντων. (b) *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 15. &c.

(c) See *Niceph.* l. 3. c. 10, 11.

(d) Our Lord Christ never denied (even upon occasion given) that he was a King, and was to have a Kingdom. When *Pilate* asked him if he was King of the *Jews*, he said his Kingdom

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So much for the *Heathens*. As to the *Christians*, one Argument is sufficient for me, *Their Prayers for the Dead for many Ages*. We have before observed there were Oblations (a) for the Dead, that they might have Part in the first Resurrection. (*See Appendix to Chap. 3.*) (b) Of this I have no Reason to doubt. Yet they did not all terminate in one Point, and were not all calculated for the same graces and benefits for the Souls of the Dead; but that they might enjoy Peace and Quiet, be free from the extream Fires; and that they may

dom was not of this World: Nor indeed is it; for in this World, *Satan*, *Antichrist*, and wicked Men govern; and his Empire is to be established upon the Conquest of his Enemies, when he shall reign in a new World with his Saints. *Christ* refused the Sons of *Zebedee* the first Seat in his Kingdom, yet he did not say he was to have no Kingdom. Moreover, when his Disciples asked him concerning the Time of his Kingdom, though he concealed the Time, he did not say, that his Kingdom would not come, *Acts* i. 6. That *Christ* meant an Earthly, and not his Heavenly and Eternal Kingdom, is plain, not only from the Questions asked, but likewise from his promising temporal Goods; there he promised to his Disciples temporal Goods ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, in the Regeneration, *Mat.* xix. 28. (which we have before proved to be the renewed World;) and said at his last Supper, he should no more drink of the Juice of the Vine till he should drink it new in the Kingdom of his Father, *Mat.* xxvi. 29. at the same Time he said (*Luk.* xx. 29, 30.) and I appoint unto you a kingdom as my father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. For in Heaven they neither eat nor drink; and although these Phraseologies are sometimes taken metaphorically, we must adhere to the literal Interpretation, unless necessity, which doth not here appear, drives us therefrom. *Luk.* xxiii. *Act.* xvii. 7.

(a) The Dr. is too literal here.

(b) The Dr. quibbles here with Oblations and Prayer, and is utterly false as to the first Resurrection.

may have a mature Resurrection, and their Part in the first. This was the Scope of all their Wishes and their Prayers; and is plainly hinted at by *Tertullian*, where explaining the Duty of a pious Wife to her deceased Husband, he says (a), *She prays for his Soul and for his Refreshment, and a Partnership in the first Resurrection; and she offers up, on stated Days in the Year, for his Rest.* And in other Places he makes the Delay of the Resurrection to be a Punishment for lesser Faults. See *de Anim. Cap. ult.* The same Prayers *St. Ambrose* offers for *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, Brothers immaturely snatched away by Death. In his funeral Oration for *Valentinian*, he concludes. (b) *We beseech thee, O great God, to raise up these dear Youths to a mature Resurrection, and raise them up again to compensate the Immaturity of their Thread of Life with a mature Resurrection, Amen.* And in another Place he states the different Orders, and stated Times of those that are to rise.

Lastly, in an antient *Gothick* Liturgy, the Form of publick Prayers runs in this manner. (c) *That God would place the Souls in Rest in the Bosom of Abraham, and admit them to a Share in the first Re-*

(a) Pro anima ejus orat & refrigerium interim adpostulat ej, & in prima resurrectione Consortium, & offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus, *Tert.* (b) Te quaeso summe Deus ut Charissimos juvenes matura resurrectione fuscites, & resuscites ut immaturum vitae istius cursum matura resurrectione compenses. *Amen.*

(c) Quiescentium animas in sinu Abrahamae collocare dignetur Deus, & in partem primae resurrectionis admittat, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

ſurrection, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. For where-
as the Antients never believed the Souls of the
Pious, immediately after Death, to be admitted
to the ſupream Fruition and the Enjoyment of
Heaven (a) ; and as they expected the firſt Reſur-
rection before that Time, and the Kingdom of
Chriſt as the firſt Step to Bleſſedneſs ; this State
and this Reſurrection they implored for thoſe who
ſlept in *Chriſt*, as the Reward of their future Glo-
ry and Initiation to Heavenly Life.

But of this enough. We want no more Testi-
monies in ſo open, plain, and confeſſed a Caſe.
The Moderns moſt verſed in the Writings of
the Antients, though no Friends to the *Millenari-
ans*, grant this Opinion concerning the future King-
dom of *Chriſt* upon Earth, to have prevailed in
the firſt Ages of the Church ; though they have not
as yet fixed exactly upon what Grounds this
Kingdom ſhall ſtand. The modern *Millenarians*
place it upon the Earth as it now is ; an opinion
opposite to the Antient one, to the holy Scrip-
tures, and to the Nature of the Thing itſelf.
The antient *Millenarians* expreſſly mention the Re-
novation of the World upon the Coming of *Chriſt*.
Juſtin in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*, places the
Millennium in the new *Jeruſalem*, from the Words
of the Prophet concerning a new Heaven and a
new Earth : And in p. 369. τῇν τῶν ἁγίων γῆν, the
Land of the Saints, he makes to be that in which
the Saints are to reign with *Chriſt* ; and ἡν καί

(a) The Places may be ſeen in Daille De uſu Patrum, p.
288. at the End. See other Liturgies, the *Mofaſabick* ones,
and *Ambroſe's*, or the *Italian*. See Daille de pœn. p. 513. at
the End.

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ὡς ἐν ὧν, the Renovation of the World or the new Jerusalem, he ascribes to Christ in the same manner as he does the Construction of the World, p. 340.

In the same manner Irenæus connects the Renovation of Nature, with that Kingdom (a). The Benediction made to Jacob, concerning the Fertility of the Earth, belongs without doubt to that Kingdom, when the just shall arise from the Dead; and the Creature renewed into Liberty, shall be refreshed with all Manner of Food, with the Dew of Heaven, and the Fertility of the Earth. This and more to the same purpose, he affirms in the same Chapter, and towards the End of the Book.

In the same manner Lactantius says (b). For God shall come; that when this World shall be purged from all Spot, he may raise the renewed Souls of the just, in their Bodies to everlasting Blessedness. And if there is any Credit due to Gelasius Cyzicenus, the Nicene Fathers were of the same Opinion, and placed the Reign of Christ, and of the Just, upon this new Earth, from these following Words (c): We expect new Heavens and a new Earth, according to the sacred Scriptures; when the illustrious Presence and Kingdom of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall come; and then as Daniel says, (chap. vii. 8.)
The

(a) Prædicta benedictio, nempe Jacobo facta, de fertilitate terræ, ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt justī surgentes à mortuis, quando & creatura renovata & liberata multitudine fructificabit universæ escæ & rore cæli & ex fertilitate terræ, Iren. lib. 5. c. 33. (b) Deus nim veniet, ut orbe hoc ab omni labe purgato, redivivas justum animas Corporibus innovatis ad sempiternam beatitudinem suscitetur. lib. 7. c. 22. (c) Καὶ νῦν ὕψαντες καὶ καὶ νῦν γῆν προσδοκῶμεν κατὰ ἱσθῆ

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The Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom, and the Earth shall be pure, holy, the Land of the Living and not of the Dead. Which David with the Eyes of Faith perceiving, cries out, (Ps. xxvii. 13.) I believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; the land of the meek and humble. Blessed, says Christ, are the meek for they shall inherit the Earth. And the Prophet Isaiah says, Ch. xxvi. 6. The poor shall tread it down, even the feet of the poor and the steps of the needy. We see here according to the Testimony of so many Fathers, the Millennium was expected upon the forming new Heavens and a new Earth, and that blessed State of Things was not by the antient Chiliafists even looked for before.

I must confess, the Antients are not very consistent with each other, about the order of this Conflagration and Renovation of the World, which shall be first or after the other. Tertullian paces erroneously the latter first in which he contradicts the very Words of St. Peter, who, upon the Dissolution of the Heavens and Earth, says, we look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13. Nor can we reasonably expect this Renovation without the Extinction of the old World by Fire, or at least without some Concussion and Demolition of human Race; especially when, according

ἱερὰ γῆμαθα, φαινόμενης ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιφανείας καὶ βασιλείας
 τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, &c. & tunc,
 ut ait Daniel (ch. vii. 18.) recipient sancti regnum Altissimi. Et
 erit terrapura, sancta, terra viventium non mortuorum, quam
 oculis fidei prævidens David clamat. (Ps. xxvii. 13.) Credo vide-
 re bona Domini in terra viventium, terra mansuetorum & humili-
 um: Beatūquit Christus mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt ter-
 ram: & propheta Isaias ait, ch. xxvi. 6. & calcabunt ipsam pedes,
 mansuetorum & humilium.

to

to the Notion thereof in the Revelations, the new Earth shall have a new Form, and be without Sea. This gave rise to an Errour with some, that the Change of the World was to be two-fold, one at the Beginning, and the other at the End of the Millennium, (a) *When the Earth and the Heaven shall fly away, and there shall be no Place found for them.* But this flying away of the Heavens and Earth, and their Place being no more to be found, is to be at the End of the Millennium, not at the general Conflagration, but at that more remarkable Change, when after the Millennium shall be finished, and the Bodies of the Saints be transferred to the heavenly Regions.

But this by the Bye. Let us proceed in our Course, and find what the sacred Authors say, and where they place this Kingdom of Christ, and of the Saints, in this present, or in a new World. St. John saw new Heavens, and a new Earth, Rev. xxi. 1, 2. Then he saw the Holy City, or the New Jerusalem, (b) come down from Heaven and fix upon this new Earth; for where else could it be? It is plain, from the preceding Chapter, this Holy (the same with the beloved) City, is the Kingdom of Christ, or the Metropolis thereof; and consequently the Prophet saw the Kingdom of Christ come down upon this new Earth, to be there fixed and to remain.

Moreover the Series of the Apocalyptick Vision, and the Periods of Time allowed for the Millennium, and the preceding Preparations thereof, cannot be crowded within the Bounds of this present World's Duration: I believe the World

(a) Rev. xx. 11. (b) Isa. lxxv. 17, 18.

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is not to last even one thousand Years from this present Time (*a*); and if we may believe the Prophecy of the *Jews*, embraced even by most of the Christian Fathers, of the Sexmillenary Duration thereof, we have not above half a thousand Years to the End of the World. To omit this; according to the Hypothesis of the modern *Chiliasm*, it requires more Time for the End of the World, if we take in the Apocalyptick Calculations: For, according to their System of Prophecies, there remain many Preparations and previous Actions to that Kingdom of Christ, and of his Saints: There must be the Extinction of Anti-Christ, and the Binding of *Satan* in Chains; and previous even to that Extinction many Signs are still behind; the Witnesses are not yet risen, the tenth Part of the City is not fallen down, the second Woe is not over, nor the third Woe come, all which are promised in the 11th Chapter of the Apocalypse, to happen before the Destruction of Anti-Christ.

Moreover the Vials mentioned in the 16th Chapter are not yet poured out, and how many remain we cannot tell. *Lastly*, all that follows to the 20th Chapter, when the Kingdom of Christ is to begin, are to be played against Anti-Christ, to demolish and destroy his Reign, and to prepare a Theatre for the coming of Christ. The exact Measure of Time for the Completion of all these Things I cannot pretend even to conjecture; but whatever it is, it must be taken into the Account before the blessed Millennium, and therefore must extend the Age of the World to a longer Duration of Time. And as in these Completions some Space of Time

(*a*) Of which twenty-seven Years are passed; for, Dr. *Burnet* wrote this Treatise in *Latin*, about 1700, as his Friends give out.

must run out, and, according to the Revelations, after that, the End of the World is to follow. Here is no Room for the blessed Millennium. When the seventh Trumpet shall sound, the Dead are to be judged, and before the End of the World that Judgement is not to be (a). Likewise the Beast is to be cast into the burning fiery Lake of Brimstone, which seems to me to relate to the Conflagration of the World, if compared with the Visions of *Daniel*, *ch. vii. 11.* and with *St. Paul*, *2 Theff. i. 8.* and *2d ch. v. 8.*

The Beginning of the Reign of Christ, and of the Saints, is in the Scriptures known by this Character of being attended with the Day of Judgment, or introduced immediately after. We need no other Argument to prove, that Kingdom is not to be expected in this Life or Age. Let us therefore compare *Daniel* and *St. John* together concerning this Affair: In that Chapter from the 9th Verse to the End, there is frequent Repetition of this consistorial Judgment, as previous to the Kingdom of the Saints, or closely adhering thereto, *v. 22.* when the Antient of Days shall come, and Judgment be given to the Saints; then (see *v. 26, 27.*) *The Kingdom, and Dominion, and Greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven shall be given to the People of the Saints of the most high.* In the same Manner *St. John* follows close the Steps of *Daniel*, not only in describing the Millennium, and fixing the judicial Thrones, in the 20th Chapter; but likewise in the 11th, as we have observed, he connects the judging of the Living and the Dead with the very Time of the Reign of Christ, and of his Saints. When the seventh Trumpet sounded

(a) *Rev. xi. 18. ch. xix. 20.*

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it was proclaimed with a great Voice from Heaven, (a) *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* And afterwards (b) *The Time of the Dead is come that they shall be judged, and that thou shouldest give Reward unto thy Servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy Name.* (c) *And the Temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there was seen in his Temple the Ark of his Testament.* It's plain the Prophet here lays down the Reign it self, and the critical Times thereof, as the Antients express it, and the Idea in *Daniel* exactly agrees with this Description in every Part, not only as to the Rule given to the Saints, but as to the very Time of that Kingdom, viz. when the Dead shall be judged: Which solemn Time, as it is not to happen before the End of the World, neither before that are we to look for the blessed Millennium, in the Sense of these sacred Oracles. As to the latter Part of the Description, the Temple being opened, and the Ark of his Testament being seen, is the *Schechinah* that lay upon the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies, which shall more illustriously appear in the blessed millenary Reign of Christ, as shall be hereafter explained.

Agreeable to these prophetick Marks and Calculations are the Words of Christ mutually connecting the Regeneration *τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν*, with the Time of publick Judgement, *Matt. xix. 28.* *Ye that have followed me ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ in the Regeneration, i. e. in the Renovation of Things, when the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging*

(a) *Rev. xi. 15.* (b) *Ver. 18.* (c) *Ver. 19.*

the twelve Tribes of Israel: and every one that hath forsaken Houses, &c. Here the judicial Apparatus is expressly laid down; and that Christ here speaks of the millenary Kingdom, is plain from two Proofs. *First*, The exact Congruity of the Description of the millenary Kingdom in the Prophets with this of Christ. *Secondly*, That this *παλιγγενεσία*, or Regeneration, is marked by Christ as the Place and Time of the Reward and Retribution to his faithful Servants. In the same Manner as St. *John* describes his, so is the Time and Manner of judging the Dead, and distributing Rewards to his Servants laid down here. The sacred Authors agree in extending the Time for the Beginning of this Millennium beyond the Limits of our Ages of the World.

We have said enough when this Millennium shall be; let us now come to the Situation thereof: Which, according to the Revelation made to St. *John* (a) we have placed in the new Heavens and new Earth. In the same Manner the Prophet *Isaiah* (b), when he says, that God shall create new Heavens, and a new Earth, and make *Jerusalem* a rejoicing, he adds thereto, there shall be a new Order of Nature shewn forth in the Happiness, Peace and Joy of Mankind, when the Just shall reign. I am the more confident in the Opinion concerning this Kingdom, when I see St. *Peter* (c) assign these new Heavens and new Earth, promised by the Prophets, for the Seats of the Just, which bear Relation to nothing, except this Kingdom here insisted upon.

Lastly, Besides these Prophecies which expressly connect the Kingdom of Christ with the new Heavens and new Earth, the same may be proved

(a) *Rev.* xxi. (b) *Isa.* lxxv. 17. (c) *2 Pet.* iii. 13.

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from the Time of the Coming of Christ, which the Millenarians confess to be at the Beginning of his Reign; but Christ will not come before the End of the World, and the Time of renewing all Things, and therefore not before then will the Millennium be. Ἀποκατάστασις πάντων and παλιγγενεσία signify the Renewing of the World. St. Peter says plainly, Christ will not come before this ἀποκατάστασις and παλιγγενεσία, whom the Heavens must receive until the Time of the Restitution of all Things, which God hath spoken by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets, since the World began, Acts iii. 21. As to the other, Christ calls his Coming when he shall reward all who have suffered for his Name the παλιγγενεσία Regeneration, Matt. xix. 28, 29. which is to be understood of his Kingdom in the renewed World, as we have before proved, when he shall come like a King and a Conqueror to distribute the Spoils of War and the Gifts of Peace, to his Soldiers who have undergone the Heats, Toils, and Dangers of the Battle. Nor does this Promise extend so much to Heaven's eternal Rewards, as to temporal Goods, and Conveniences of Life. To this agrees St. Paul, when he subjects (a) the future habitable World, τῇν (b) διακείμενην τὴν μέλλουσαν (c), to Christ as its King, or

(a) Heb. ii. 5, 6. (b) διακείμενη signifies τόπον διακείμενος, according to the natural Force of the Word, and the Syntax, γῆ, the Earth.

(c) The Word αἰὼν μέλλων, or אָרְבַּךְ עוֹלָם is used, more largely taken for the Times of the Messiah, and more strictly for the Time of his Reign: And in this more strict and proper Sense it is also distinguished from this present Age, and from Eternity, or that Time in which Christ is to give the Kingdom into the Hands

or מָלַךְ הַכּוֹל as the *Hebrews* call it, which they likewise subjected to their *Messiah* (a).

Lastly, to conclude, the Scripture no where mentions any Coming of Christ before the judicial one at the End of the World. St. Paul connects these three together, in his Epistle to *Timothy* (b) the κρίσις, or Judgment of the Dead, the ἐπιφάνεια, or Appearance of Christ, and his βασιλεία, or Kingdom. *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord JESUS CHRIST, who shall judge the Quick and the Dead, at his Appearing and his Kingdom.* The same Apostle, together with St. Peter, joins the Coming of Christ with the Conflagration of the World, 2 *Theff.* ii. 7, 8. 2 *Pet.* iii. 10. Compare these, with other Arguments of the like Nature, in *Gerhard*, Tom. last, pag. 139, 140, 141.

Our Testimonies concerning the Seat of this Millennium we have brought from the Authority of the sacred Writings; but even the Nature of the Thing, and Reason concur in the same. To what Purpose should a new Earth be made void of Inhabitants, and a new habitable World without People therein; moreover the Earth in its present State, as the Order of Things is now, exposed only to Vanity and Corruption, is incon-

Hands of his Father, and therefore it is more properly taken for the intermediate Age, betwixt the present one and Eternity. In the holy Scriptures Christ is to reign ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι μέλλοντι, *in the World to come*, Heb. ii. 5, 6. for he neither does reign, nor is to reign in that Sense, when he shall deliver the Kingdom into the Hands of his Father; viz. after the final Resurrection, and the fulfilling of all Ages. Its plain therefore there is an intermediate Kingdom of Christ, properly called the αἰὼν μέλλων, the World to come, though the more extensive Interpretation may include all the Days of the *Messiah*.

(a) *Matt.* xxiii. 39. (b) 2 *Tim.* iv. 1.

sistent with a State of Felicity and Happiness; and it would be absurd to bring the blessed Saints and Martyrs from Death, into a modern State of Living. Concerning this Argument I shall explain a little more. As to the first, I lay it down as a fixed and undoubted Truth, *That the natural World will be renewed again*, even our Heavens and our Earth, in a proper and literal Sense. For this we have the ample Declaration of Scripture, and it was always the orthodox Faith. Tell me, I pray, with what Design, or to what End is the Earth to be renewed, or what Purpose is that new-born Paradise to serve (a)? We all consent it is to have a more agreeable Change; and we have shewn from the sacred Scripture, it is to assume the Form, Beauty, and Fertility of Paradise. See, *Theory of the Earth, Book 4. Ch. 2. 8.*

Observe therefore, God and Nature made nothing in vain, and much less a whole Series of habitable Worlds, filled with all the Benefits of Nature, happy in both Soil and Air, and equal for the Seats of the Blessed, for no End or Design; and if these blessed Seats, a beautiful World, is not made in vain; see if you can assign a better, or more noble End than we have done, and candidly impart it to the World; if not, make use of ours till you find a better, and look upon this World to come to be the Land of the Living, the true *Canaan*, the promised Land, the Land where the Saints shall reign, and the Just inhabit, a Land for the Meek and Innocent to possess, who in this Life have none, and with whom

(a) See *Iustin*, or the Author of Questions and Answers Ad *Grac.* pag. 196.

indeed all is nothing worth. See *Rev.* v. 10.
2 *Pet.* iii. 13. *Matt.* v. 5.

Secondly, This present Earth and Heaven cannot yield the Felicity proper for the Saints in the Kingdom of Christ; I say the Felicity natural and proper for them to have: For over and above the Blessings of the Mind and their holy Affections, the external Face of Nature will make a golden Appearance, when all the Plagues of this Life are taken away; for neither shall there be Poverty, nor Want, base Servitude, Wars, and Discords, nor Diseases, and Infirmities of Body in that Millennium: But as human Nature is at present, these Evils are unavoidable, *Rev.* xxi. 4. in some Degree; however, they may be diminished or made more tolerable by good Laws. Our Earth loses even its Fertility in Time, and grows more barren; from hence, as the Want of Necessaries comes on, it brings a Train of Servitude, Miseries and Contentions, publick and private, the Fountains from whence War and Destruction flow: But if the Face of the Heavens was always to preserve the same Temperature, we are still exposed to the Depredations of Air, and the Vicissitudes of Seasons, Diseases, Grievs, and Sickneses, our Portions in this Life. These are not consistent with the Reign of Christ, as described by the Prophets, and is so far from being a Reward, it is a Scheme for a Government as unhappy as our modern State is at present (a).

Thirdly, Bring the blessed Saints and Martyrs from the Dead into this Life; what Taste of Life must we then have? or what Death will fall to their Share a second Time? must they depart in

(a) Here, I presume, the *Doctor* alludes to the varying Politics of some late Reigns.

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the small Space of Time Mortals do now? or must they live a thousand Years? For the first, it would not be worth while to break open the Gates of Death, and the friendly Silence of the Grave. I say for human Life, drawn over with Clouds, and the tempestuous Incommodities of Heaven and Earth. Think you not the Saints were happy enough before? from whence could arise their loathing their happy Situation before their Return?

*—Anne aliquas ad cœlum hinc ire putandum est
Sublimes animas: iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? terrenosque artus, moribundaque membra?
Quæ brevis & misera lucis tam dira cupido est.*

Can Souls departed skim the liquid Air,
View the bright Track, and find their Bodies there?
Their scatter'd Limbs extended o'er the Plain,
And re-unite their Carcasses again?
Can measur'd Hours, and scanty Minutes give
To wand'ring Shades a long and sweet Reprieve?

Nor on the other Side will our (a) present State bear with a long millenary, or semi-millenary Life. To proceed, if the Saints and Martyrs return, what Manner of Life shall they lead? or how shall the new Guests be entertained? shall they marry? and as the Sons of God formerly loved the Daughters of Men, shall they labour to transmit their Posterity, and govern their Lives as we Mortals do now? what Goods will be really

(a) The Doctor will I find by no means allow the patriarchal Longævity.

such to them I cannot tell, nor what Pretensions they can have to Hereditaments and legal Rights, when the Earth is fully possessed before, and PATRIMONIES CAN NEVER BE TAKEN AWAY, and they cannot succeed to their Ancestors deceased after so long a Time, and when we have weighed all the Goods of Mind, Body, and Fortune, the Saints will gain nothing by the Exchange of Death for such a Life as Ours. But, of this Point, we have said enough.

I have alledged these Proofs from Scripture, and Reason, for the sake of our modern *Millenarians*, who flighting the antient Footsteps, with too much Heat precipitate the Reign of *Christ* to this World and our Earth, and raise Jealousies in Princes and others by this Doctrine, and procure Hatred to an Opinion in it self harmless and innocent, and really do more harm than good to the Cause they pretend to espouse. I am not averse to seeing the World upon the mending Hand, and *Christianity* flourish more; the Tyranny of *Antichrist* dwindle, and whole Branches of its Empire drop off; that Piety, Charity, the Love of Truth, Righteousness and Honesty, may more and more prevail with good Men; and that they may not persecute and vex each other for light and trivial Matters; then may all divine and human Knowledge increase, and the genuine State of the *Christian* Religion, its OEconomy, Design and Wisdom appear. These indeed are desirable Goods; but for the Felicity of this Reign more is required; the external Face of Nature must concur, and a new Disposition of Things; the Light even of Truth itself will be more vivid and perfect than in this Life: But it remains for us to dispatch the rest of this Argument.

These

These Things being laid down, we must explain upon the State of the *Millennium*. It consists of two Parts, the Natural and Intellectual: But what the Appearance of Nature will be; the order thereof in that World to come, or in the new Heavens and new Earth, we have abundantly explained in our *Theory*, and we need not repeat it here. And as to the Intellectual Part, it consists in Contemplation and Devotion, and all those angelick Exercises, by which the Soul is prepared for an Heavenly Life. These Things likewise, according to our Ability, we have handled in the same Treatise. It remains to say something more concerning the extraordinary Presence of *Christ* in his Kingdom, and the Consummation of the *Christian* OEconomy. When we speak of the Presence of *Christ* in his Kingdom, we mean not that *Christ* shall descend upon Earth in an human Shape, and converse with Men as he did in *Judaea*, nor lead a Terrestrial Life as when he was cloathed with Flesh. This would indeed be a second Incarnation; but he will appear from afar in his glorious Body, after the manner of his lasting and perpetual *Schechinah*, as it appeared in the Holy of Holies; and thus descending from Heaven, he will reside upon Earth an August King and a visible Deity, but concerning this we must explain farther.

When St. *John* had delivered this Doctrine of a *Millennium*, and of new Heavens and a new Earth, he adds (a); And I *John* saw the holy City, the new *Jerusalem*, coming down from God. And I heard a great Voice out of Heaven, saying; Behold the

(a) *Rev.* xxi. 2, 3.

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Tabernacle of God is with Men, and he will dwell with them, ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ τῆς θεᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ, &c. That this is understood of *Schechinah*, the very Words, and the Use of those Words in the Holy Scripture declare: *Behold the Tabernacle of God is with Men*, says the voice from Heaven. For such will be the Presence of God, as the *Schechinah* in the Tabernacle. To the same purpose it is added, σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς, and he will dwell with them. And to prove, moreover, the Habitation of God with his Saints in the *Millenary* Kingdom, in the same manner he dwelt with the *Israelites* in the Sanctuary, is here pointed out, the Prophet adds, καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτῆς ἔσονται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἔσται μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ θεὸς αὐτῶν, and they shall be his People, and God himself shall be with them and be their God: Which are the very Words of the Promises God made to the *Israelites*, that he would be with them in the Sanctuary, if ye consult *Exod.* xxix. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46. *Levit.* xxvi. 11.

Moreover *St. John*, in his Gospel, when he would figuratively express the Dwelling of God in Human Flesh, uses the same Way of Speaking. *Joh.* i. 14. ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς. And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the only Begotten of the Father. The same Expression occurs in the *Revelations*, when the Privileges of the Croud with Palms in their Hands, (who are the *Millenary* Saints) are recounted amongst the rest ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς θρόνου, (*viz.* *Christ*,) σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτῆς (a), And he that sitteth on the Throne

(a) *Rev.* vii. 15, 16, 17.

shall dwell among them, or shall fix his Tabernacle among them; which agrees with our Explanation of *Schechinah* in the Kingdom of *Christ*. In the same manner the Prophet *Ezekiel*, describing the Happiness of this Kingdom, places the Seat of God in the Sanctuary. To these let me add one Place more from the *Revelations*, concerning the *Millennium*; where mention is made of the opening of the Temple, and the Discovery of the Ark of the Testament upon which the *Schechinah* resided. In the 7th Chapter, when the Trumpet of the seventh Angel had sounded, the Reign of *Christ*, and of his Saints is described: *And the Temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there was seen in his Temple the Ark of his Testament, i. e. according to the true Sense of the Words; upon the Heavens being opened, the Schechinah or Glory of Christ, was seen, which covered the Ark of the Testament in the Sanctuary.* So *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr upon the Opening of Heaven, saw the Glory of God, and the Son of Man at the right Hand of God (a). To this I suppose, refers that celebrated Prophecy of *Jeremy* the Prophet, *ch. iii. 16, 17.* When the new *Jerusalem*, instead of the Ark of the Testament, shall be the Throne of *Jehovah*.

From these Testimonies and Proofs, it seems to me incontestably plain, that in the future Kingdom of *Christ*, there will be a real, solemn, and visible Presence of the Deity, we call *Schechinah*. We must observe what the *Hebrews* term *Schechinah*, in the *Greek* Style in the new Testament, and with the *Septuagint* Interpreters (b) is *δοξα τῷ θεῷ*, the *Glory of God*; as we have before fully proved by several

(a) See *Acts* vii. 55, 56. (b) *Exod.* xiv. 16, 17. and xxxiii. 18. and xl. 34, 35. *1 Kings* viii. 11. *1 Sam.* iv. 21, 22. *Is.* vi. 3. *Hab.* iii. 3, 4. *Joh.* i. 14, and xvii. 5. *Heb.* ix. 5. *Rom.* ix. 4.

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Examples. This Word is used by St. *John*, where he says he saw the Glory of God, τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, in the holy *Jerusalem* that came down from Heaven, *Rev.* *xxi.* 10, 11. The Angel shewed him τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, the great City, the holy *Jerusalem*, descending out of Heaven from God, having the glory of God. He proceeds to describe (a) this City and its Glories, with all the Advantages of Light and Splendour, and expressly says the *Millenarians* shall see the Face of God.

You see here the Prophet has in two manners described and foretold this divine *Schechinah*, being in the new *Jerusalem* in the Kingdom of *Christ* and of his Saints. Perhaps ye will ask, What is this *Schechinah* mentioned so often in the holy Scriptures? For the Benefit of those who have not dipped into the Sense of the Word, I shall take upon me to explain the same in as accurate a Manner as I can; and if the Reader will pardon this Digression, I shall first open the State of the Question, to make it more easy, and to clear the Difficulties attending the same.

The Word שכינה is not to be found in the *Hebrew* Bibles, though in the *Targum* and in the *Rabbins* often: It is derived from שכן to inhabit or dwell, and signifies Habitation or Dwelling, but the Word שכן which with *Moses* signifies the singular Presence of God on Mount *Sinai*, or in the Tabernacle as we have it, *Exod.* *xxiv.* 15, 16. *Ch.* *xxv.* 8. *Ch.* *xxix.* 45, 46. *Ch.* *xl.* 35. *Deut.* *xxxiii.* 16. has caused it since to be applied to signify the divine Majesty and Presence in a more peculiar manner.

(a) Compare this with *John* *xvii.* 24. *Rev.* *xxii.* 4.

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So far as to the Word: But when we come to the Thing it self, *Schechinah* in a more large Sense denotes some notable Effect of the Divine Presence, or more strictly it signifies the Divine Presence, under some visible Species or Sign; and still more strictly, the majestick Presence exhibited in some candescent, igneous, lucid Matter, as it appeared in the fiery Bush to *Moses*, *Exod.* iii. 2. *Deut.* xxxiii. 16. in a Pillar of Fire, or a cloudy Pillar to the *Israelites* in the Desert, *Exod.* xiii. 21, 22. *Numb.* xiv. 14. upon Mount *Sinai*, *Exod.* xix. 18. and xxiv. 15, 16, 17. and *Ch.* xxxiii. 18. *Deut.* xxxiii. 2. upon the Tabernacle, *Exod.* xxv. 8. and xl. 34, 35. *Levit.* xvi. 2. *Numb.* ix. 15. *1 Kings* viii. 10, 11. *2 Chron.* vii. 1.

This Majestick *Schechinah* (a), we mean here, and expect in the World to come, and it consists of two Parts, the Material and Spiritual. The first is a lucid, albescent as light itself, Fire, Æther, Clouds, shining Smoke, and the like; this (b) lucid Substance, by *Abarbanel*, was believed always to be the same uniform primogenial light God made in the Beginning, and assumed as a Vehicle to make himself Conspicuous or Visible. But whatever it was, we must examine concerning the other Part, the spiritual Substance annexed to that splendid Matter. (c) That extraordinary and most learned Man *Joseph Mede*, believes the Angels had the *Schechinah*, for a Vehicle; and that the divine Presence and ἐπιφάνεια was no more than Angelical; for God is Omnipotent, though said to be specially present when the Ange-

(a) Concerning *Schechinah*, see *Whitby* de Deitat. *Chr.* p. 57.

(b) This the *Bishop of Ely* observes. (c) *Tract.* de Sanct. Ecc. lick

lick Bands appear. That *Schechinah* is always with the Angelick Bands, I am apt to believe, as attending at the same Time upon their Lord.

(a) *Justin Martyr*, (b) *Irenæus*, (c) *Tertullian*, and most of the other Fathers, believed the *λογος* was in the *Schechinah* in (d) those Appearances in the old Testament; the *Jews* and some of the *Christian* Fathers, believed the Soul of the *Messias* præ-existed the Times of the Incarnation, the Beginning of the *Jewish* Nation, their Law and the whole OEconomy of that People; which Soul if they supposed at that Time joined with the *λογος*, it will not be absurd to join also with that *λογος* the *Schechinah* of the Patriarchs and Prophets; and all those miraculous Appearances that

(a) In *Apol.* 2. p. 95. 96. *Dialog. with Tryphon*, n. 341. 342. and p. 356, 357. and in other Places. (b) *Iren. lib.* 4. c. 17. 23. 37. (c) *Tertull.* against the *Jews*, c. 9. de carne *Christi*. c. 6. against *Marcion*. l. 2. c. 27. Book 3. ch. 6. To *Praxeas* ch. 14. &c. *Theophilus Antiochenus*, p. 99, 100. *Clemens Alexandrinus* often. *Protrept. pædag.* p. 111. *Eusebius's* Evangelick Demonstrations. B. 5. Ch. 9. and in the following Copiously, *Ecclesiast Hist. lib.* 1. c. 2. *Cyril of Jerus.* Catechch. So besides these of the first Rank, consult moreover *Novatian* concerning the Trinity. ch. 25. &c. *Origen* Book 6. against *Celsus*. *Basil* against *Eunomius*. *Chrysostom* upon *Genesis* 41, 42, 48. and upon the *Acts*, *Hom.* 16. *Theodoret* upon *Genesis*, *Quest.* 92. upon *Exodus*, *Quest.* 5. *Hilary* concerning the Trinity, 4. 5. 12. *Ambrose* concerning Faith, to *Gratian* B. 5. ch. 5. and concerning Faith against the *Arians*, ch. the last. *Prudentius* in his *Apotheosis* against the *Patripassians*. *Sulpitius Severus* sacred *Hist.* B. 1. *Cassian* B. 7. of the Incarnation. *Leo*, ep. 13. *Isidor Hisp.* of the Nativity of the Lord, ch. 1. and many others in *Kirkholi's* Notes upon *Just.* p. 34. and in *Suicerus* at the Word *Ἀγγελος*, and in *Bull.* see ch. 1.

(d) *Augustin* against *Maximin*, Book 3. ch. 26. denies this; 'tis cited by *Pampelinus* in *Tertul.* against the *Jews*. ch. 9. p. 194. See also *Augustin* of the Trinity, Book 3. ch. 9. and ch. 11.

came

came down from Heaven, are to be ascribed to the *Messiah*, and not to the mere Divinity. Without this Explanation, I cannot understand *Justin Martyr*, and the other Fathers (a): From the Invisibilty, Infiniteness, and Omnipresence of God, the Fathers would prove he could not descend and ascend, and appear and change Places, by Reason of this Invisibilty and Omnipresence; when the Objections equally hold against God the Son, as against God the Father, unless we suppose the Soul of the *Messias* to have pre-existed, and to have been united with the *λογός* before the Incarnation, and that all these Things were performed by Angels; for otherwise the *λογός* by it self, united to no angelick or human Creature, is invisible and (b) omnipresent, equally as God the Father. *Bull* has not given a sufficient Answer to

(a) *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*, frequently disputes against all local Motion or Appearance of God the Father: And p. 355, 356. he says; When the Scripture says God went up from *Abraham*, or the Lord spoke to *Moses*, or that God came down to see the Tower the Sons of Men had built, and that God shut up *Noah* in the Ark, *μὴ ἡγείσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγέννητον Θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι*, do not think the eternal God ascended or descended any where; for that ineffable Father and Lord of the World, does not move from Place to Place, walk, sleep, and rise — neither is he moveable from one Place to another, nor comprehended within the Bounds of the World; who existed before even the World was made. How shall he then converse or be seen upon this narrow Earth? The same Arguments are used by the other Fathers.

(b) What was the Son's Return from this World to the Father, such was his coming out from the Father, such was his Return to the Father: His Going out was local, and his Ascension into Heaven local after an Human manner, *Jo.* xiii. i. vi. 62. xvi. 28. The Person of *Christ* ascended, therefore the Person of *Christ* descended locally, and his Appearances were sometimes in Heaven, and sometimes on Earth.

this

this, See 4. c. 3. p. 462. &c. But to return to our purpose, Whatever those Phænomena were in the old Testament before the Incarnation of God, (which perhaps we may allow a distinct Dissertation upon in another Place,) the *Schechinah*, concerning which we speak, will shine in the Kingdom of *Christ*, and of his Saints, and is *Christ* himself with his glorious Body, as is plainly said by the Prophet, *Rev. xxi. 23. For the glory of the Lord did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.* *Christ* gave us a Specimen of this Glory upon Earth in the Flesh at his Transfiguration, and afterwards in that Manifestation from Heaven, to *Stephen* and *Saul* in the *Acts*; but the most illustrious ἐπιφάνεια or *Schechinah* will be, when *Christ* shall come in Flames of Fire, attended with Myriads of Angels at the Destruction and End of the World. And there is always joined with this Coming of *Christ* the Word Glory, or the Glory of God, which answers to the (a) *Schechinah* and Majestick Presence of God. And *St. John*, has told us this Divine Presence and Glory will be in the new Heavens, and come down from thence.

We must observe, moreover in the Holy Scriptures, the following Order, in representing the Royal Glory and Majesty of *Christ*: 1st, The Person of *Christ*. 2^{dly}, His Attendants, 3^{dly}, His Royal Metropolis, and Lastly, his Throne. The Glory of the Person of *Christ*, is more than once described in the Apocalypse, as

(a) *Schechinah* belongs neither to the Father nor to the Holy Spirit; therefore to the Son or λογος, which is something Divine, and not only Angelical. See *Grot. de Rel. Christ. lib. 5. p. 363. Sect. 3.*

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Lucid and Flammeous. Ch. i. v. 14, 15. *His head and his hairs were white like wooll as white as snow, and his eyes were as a flame of fire, and his feet like unto fine brass as if they burned in a furnace, and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.* What Description can be more strong, more clear, or more bright, unless that in the 4th Chapter, where he is described sitting upon his Throne, and is said to look like a jasper and a sardine stone, and there was a rainbow round about the throne like unto an emerald. The Attendants of Christ will consist of Angels of Light, as has been observed from the sacred Writings before cited. Lastly as to the Regal Metropolis, the City of the great King, the Holy Jerusalem, come down from Heaven; the Prophet describes its Glory as of shining Gems and various Modifications of Light and Colours, Ch. xxi. v. 10, 11. also v. 18, 19, 20, 21. No Person understands what the Prophet says of the precious Stones in a literal Sense, though the Metaphor conceals something Visible and Illustrious; for he who hath painted the Rainbow in the little Drops of Water, and the Clouds about the rising and the setting Sun, with Variety of Colours and Beauty, may modify the Light of his æthereal Body into all the various Forms of Glory and Brightness, beyond what the Shining of terrestrial Gems and borrowed Lights can express. It is not new or uncommon, in the Holy Scriptures, to represent Schechinah by the shining of Jewels. The Breastplate of the High-Priest (where Urim and Thummim gave their divine Answers,) were made by the Command of God, with several Kinds of precious Stones, Exodus xxviii. And when God appeared on Mount Sinai, he stood upon a pavement

ment of Sapphire-Stone, *Exod.* xxiv. 10. The future Glory of the Church is in the same manner described by the Prophet *Isaiah*, *ch.* liv. 11, 12. and the Paradise in *Ezekiel*, *ch.* xxviii. 13. all formed with precious Stones according to the Apocalyptick Notion.

But to proceed: Although by these Arguments and Examples we have made it more than probable, that *Schechinah* belongs to the millenary Kingdom and holy City; yet other Circumstances are not so easily reconciled, and the Diversity of Characters and Notes will not bend to an Hypothesis, as we find them in the last Chapter of this admirable Prophecy; and the Difficulties more arise to distinguish the literal from the metaphorical Characters. It is the (a) common Opinion, the triumphant *Christian* Church is here copiously represented, because it is said, in their Foundations the Names of the Twelve Apostles were written, *v.* 14. and the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* upon the Gates, *v.* 12. by whom in the *Revelations* are always meant the true People of God, and this City is expressly called the Bride of the Lamb, *v.* 9, 10.

But although it may be the triumphant Church, it is the triumphant Church upon Earth, I mean the new Earth and the new Heavens, which the Prophet had seen just before, *v.* 2. and he saw afterwards this City come down from Heaven, *v.* 2. 10. consisting of the Saints raised at the first Resurrection, for there is not properly or strictly speaking a triumphant Church in Hea-

(a) The Prophet *David* hints at this future State, *Pf.* xvii. 15. See *Dr. Tennison*, p. 366.

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ven, before or after the Resurrection. Before the Resurrection the Saints are not in a visible Condition or Society, but their Souls are kept by God, and live only with him: And after the Resurrection, when *Christ* shall have delivered the Kingdom into the Hands of the Father, there will be no Form or Face of a Church left, but God will be all in all. Nor does it prejudice our Opinion, that the City shall be called the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, because it is to come from Heaven, as the Prophet says, consisting of the Members of the first Resurrection descending with *Christ*, See *Rev. iii. 12. c. xxi. 2, 10.*

That illustrious Society described by *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews*, though it is more agreeable to the Evangelical Dispensation than to the Old one, cannot mean the Church Militant, as it is said to be the City of God, and the Heavenly *Jerusalem*; it is therefore the same with that of *St. John*, though varying in some Respects, according to the Genius of the Author. They who shall have Part in the first Resurrection will constitute πανήγυριν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πρωτοτόκων ἐν ὕραν οἱς ἀπογεγραμμένων, *The general Assembly and Church of the first born which are written in Heaven*: And though they are not yet δίκαιοι τετελειωμένοι, the just made perfect, they are Candidates for, and next *Heirs of eternal Life*.

REMARKS.

R E M A R K S.

Our Doctor is very fond of the millennarian Scheme, however contradictory it seems to the Wisdom, though not to the Power of God. I shall follow him through all his Ways of stating the Question, and shew how absurd his Hypothesis is in several Respects.

His Distinction of the first and second Resurrection labours under several Difficulties; and moreover he does not seem to have had it in his View when he wrote the 3d Chapter of this Work*; it seems to me a Notion that crept in afterwards, for it undoes all that he has done before: For throughout that Chapter he mentions only One Resurrection to commence immediately upon the Coming of our Lord, and from that Time to admit the Souls to the beatifick Vision: But according to his Scheme in this Chapter, new Heavens and a new Earth are to be formed, and a theatrical Scene to be opened, of a new *Jerusalem* to come down from Heaven, and to be the Metropolis of Christ our King. For my Part, as I have said before, I shall never be an Enemy to his Government; for I believe it will be the only one that ever was without evil Ministers, though I am a great Enemy to advancing chimerical Schemes, that have sent some forwards on the Road too soon.

He supposes in this Chapter, the Judgement, and the Coming of Christ, and the Conflagration to happen together; his Words are, *The Beginning of the Reign of Christ, and of his Saints, is in the Scripture known by this Character, of being attended with the Day of Judgement, or introduced immediately after.* Yet, pag. 49. he says, *Moreover, according to the sacred Oracles, and the Sentiments of the Apostles, the Saints expect only their finishing Reward and Consummation of Glory at the Rising of the Dead.* This is the constant Tenour of his whole Chapter, and the millenary Scheme does not even seem at that Time to have been in his Head. When he comes to his Quotations of the Fathers, there is not the least Room left for an intermediate State betwixt the Kingdom of Heaven, and the general Judgement. He has one particular Citation from *Tertullian*, pag. 63. that entirely overthrows all his Scheme: *Heaven is allotted to none, while this Earth is preserved whole; and I may say, sealed up, and with that the Kingdom of Heaven is sealed up likewise.* Here is no intermediate State for a new Earth, the Kingdom of Heaven is

* See, the former Volume, pag. 47.

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sealed up with this Earth; preserved whole; and consequently will be unsealed when this Earth is no more.

I need not say how absurd it would be to call the Kingdom of Heaven, the millenary Reign; because what our blessed Saviour calls the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Kingdom of his Father, are the very same: And our Doctor tells us, at the End of this Chapter, *That Christ, after the second Resurrection, shall deliver the Kingdom into the Hands of his Father, and then there will be no more Church, but God will be all in all.*

Our blessed Saviour says, *Matt. xxvi. 29. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this Fruit of the Vine, until that Day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom.* Let the Doctor take this Text in a literal, or in a metaphorical Sense, let him plant the new Earth with Vines, producing the most generous Wines for the Saints to make merry with in this new Reign; still it must be his Father's Kingdom: And if you turn it into a metaphorical Sense, as he was to meet with his Disciples again, and be with them a thousand Years, it is to be supposed, whatever he refers to must be accomplished in that Space, and that consequently was his Father's Kingdom still.

Multiplying Texts is vain and unnecessary, this one stands irrefragably against any Attacks: For, according to the millenarian Scheme, our blessed Saviour could not mean that he was not to converse with his Saints till after the Millennium was expired, and his Father's Kingdom was to commence; its plain therefore his Father's Kingdom was the same with the Kingdom of Christ, and the Kingdom of Heaven.

Moreover he told his Disciples, *John xiv. 2. In my Father's House are many Mansions;* and we will not dispute but his Father's House was his Kingdom, to which the Son was going to prepare a Place for his Disciples, and consequently it subsisted at that Time, and was the same with the Kingdom of Heaven.

In short, all the Fathers the Doctor quotes in the 3d Chapter, suppose only one Place for Souls from Death to the Consummation of all Things; and therefore *Tertullian*, by him quoted, *pag. 63. says, I call that Region the Bosom of Abraham; for though it is not Heaven, it is above the lowermost Parts, a Refreshment to the Souls of the Just, till the Consummation of all Things swallows up the Resurrection in the Completion of Reward.* It is plain from hence *Tertullian* had no Notion of a millenarian Region before that grand Completion of Reward.

If we examine the blessed Scriptures themselves, why does *St. Paul* say, *1 Cor. xv. 19. If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ,*

Christ, we are of all Men most miserable. It is the Opinion of all Commentators, that *St. Paul* makes here an Antithesis of this present Life and a State of Eternity; that this Life only, which is to have an End, would render us most miserable, ἐλεεινότεροι, *most deserving of Pity*; nor will a millennarian Life affect this Antithesis; for even that is but the Life a little more protracted of an antediluvian Patriarch, how pleasant soever it may be; therefore if *St. Paul* had any View to that, he ought to have said, *If in our two Lives only we have Hope, we are of all Men most miserable.*

If we examine a little farther into this Chapter of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, we shall find what is meant by the Reign of *Christ* distinct from the Reign of his Father, and we shall find no Room left for the millennarian Scheme to take Place.

In this Chapter it is only a metaphorical Expression, signifying the Duration of Time from the Resurrection of *Christ* to the Consummation of all Things. For Proof of this I alledge, that literally it cannot be taken, because the Reign of *Christ* was said by the Angel, to *Mary*, to be everlasting: *And he shall reign over the House of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no End*, Luke i. 33. and likewise, *For so an Entrance shall be ministred unto you abundantly into the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST*, 2 Pet. i. 11. From whence it plainly appears, the Kingdom of *Christ*, the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Kingdom of the Father, were never really distinguished in the Holy Scriptures; and whereas, *St. Paul* says, *That Christ must reign till he hath put all Things under his Feet*, 1 Cor. xv. 25. he immediately adds, *The last Enemy that shall be destroyed is Death*; and therefore, according to the literal Sense, the Reign of *Christ* must conclude, and the delivering up the Kingdom to the Father must begin upon the Destruction of Death; and that could only be according to the Doctor's own Hypothesis at the first Resurrection; for the second, with him, was only a Translation, or, as he from *Tertullian* terms it, *a Change into an angelical Substance, and a Translation to the heavenly Kingdom*, pag. 236.

You may say, *Tertullian* was very plain for a Millennium in his Third Book against *Marcion*; yet he contradicts it in his Tenth, as I have before observed, and his last Thought ought, sure, to be preferred to his first.

From what has been said, it is at least evident that *Christ's* Kingdom, and his Father's Kingdom were the same. I shall just crave Leave to lay down the Doctor's Hypothesis concerning the first and second Resurrection, as he is pleased to call them;

them; and compare the whole with what he has said before in his fourth Chapter *, and with what St. Paul says in the 15th Chapter to the *Corinthians*. The Doctor's Hypothesis is to be found towards the latter End of his 8th Chapter. See pag. 235, &c. At the first Resurrection, he says, *The Body is to be Flesh, Bones, and Blood, though in a more perfect Manner than ours are at this Day; in the first the Body will be Flesh, but not numerically the same with the former one; in the second it will be the numerical Body, but not terrestrial or carnal.* See pag. 236. This last Resurrection, he says, is that St. Paul made his Dissertation upon; to these Words I shall bind the Doctor down, and not give him Leave to stir one Inch.

In his 4th Chapter, pag. 117, he says, *The Scriptures take Notice of no more than two Sorts of Bodies, terrestrial and celestial ones; the first in our Possession here, and the last promised to us at the Resurrection of the Dead.* He must certainly mean here the first Resurrection, because then only he has allowed this second Body to be bestowed upon us; and yet he quotes the 15th of the *Corinthians* as a Proof there could be no intermediate Body betwixt the first Body and the new one given us at the Resurrection, from these Words, *And as we have born the Image of the Earthy, we shall also bear the Image of the Heavenly.* These Words surely imply an immediate Transition from one State to another, and the Doctor forms his own Argument from thence, and yet he afterwards says, the 15th Chapter of the *Corinthians* relates only to the second Resurrection; which, according to his Scheme, leaves a Chasm of one thousand Years between, and therefore leaves Room for intermediate Bodies, as well as for an intermediate State, and therefore the Argument oversets it self.

Let us next examine whether the Marks of the 15th Chapter agree with the Doctor's Hypothesis of the second Resurrection. Says St. Paul, ver. 12. *Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the Dead, how say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the Dead? I cannot deny but the Consequence would be very strict of St. Paul's, in proving against those who said there was no Resurrection, that there was a second; but it would be more natural to begin with the first: It is as though I should argue in this Manner; they are very much in the Wrong, who say, I had no Aunt, for I had a second Cousin descending from my Mother's Sister; we will not suppose St. Paul argued in that Manner.*

* See, the former Volume, pag. 111.

Then *ver.* 16. the Analogy he makes of the Resurrection of Christ with ours, can by no means agree with the second Resurrection; for at the second we pass through no Gates of Death, as Christ did; nor has he a second Resurrection, though we have: Therefore St. Paul's Argument would be vain, impertinent, and frivolous to prove our second Resurrection, or Translation, from the Rising from the Dead, to which our first Resurrection bears only a perfect Resemblance.

Let me add, *ver.* 23 Christ is said to be the first Fruits of the Resurrection, and afterwards as at his Coming; and we all are agreed, his Coming is at the first Resurrection, to judge the World.

If we come to the second Part of this memorable Chapter, after his Digression, beginning at Verse 35, &c. his Similitude of putting Seed into the Ground, is more adapted to the Putrefaction of the Body in the Grave, than to the second Resurrection; and what Change is it the Apostle concludes with? says he, *ver.* 51. *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.* Pray what particular Sleep is allotted in the Millennium more to some than others, when this great Change is to happen? surely it is more natural to suppose here the Apostle meant the Sleep of Death; and if so, he meant likewise the Change immediately following that Sleep of Death; and the next Verse tells us, *It shall be attended with the Sound of the last Trumpet, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σαλπύγῃ.* This is repeated, *1 Thess. iv. 15, 16.* where St. Paul evidently describes the first Resurrection: *For this we say unto you, by the Word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the Coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep; for the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a Shout, with the Voice of the Arch-Angel, and with the Trump of God.* Are not these a plain Comment upon *1 Cor. xv?* and yet they refer to the Coming of the Lord, and to the first Resurrection.

To conclude, upon a View of the whole Chapter, having proved it to refer to the first Resurrection at the Coming of the Lord; if there had been a succeeding millennarian Reign, it must necessarily have found a Place toward the latter End of this Chapter; yet only one State is here mentioned, and the Terms annexed thereto belong only to the Enjoyment of Heaven; there is so wide a Difference betwixt the most pompous millenary Reign, and the perfect Consummation of Bliss, and the beatifick Vision, they could never by the Apostle be made one, as will more plainly appear.

Let

Let us take a philosophical View of the Doctor's Scheme as he has laid it down.

The Saint is to have the like Flesh, Bones, and Blood *Adam* had in Paradise, in a more perfect Manner than ours are at this Day; what he means by the more perfect Manner of the Flesh, Blood, and Bones, I cannot even conjecture; were the Blood and Spirits more fine? the Bones more strongly knit? or the Nerves more vigorous and masculine? I suppose the Doctor is for no catching Gold in the Millennium; no Catarrhs, Rheumatisms, and Coughs; but still *Adam's* Flesh, Blood, and Bones were sinful, even to a Weakness as great as ours, to be governed by a Wife, deluded by a Serpent, and flattered by the Fair; do we think Christ will come down from Heaven to govern a Paradise of such Flesh, Blood, and Bones as we are, with all the Infirmities of Nature about us.

When we consider the Principles he has formerly advanced against Flesh and Blood in his 7th Chapter, I wonder he becomes so well reconciled to them in this; for *Adam's* Body was not ἀφθαρτός incorruptible, it was organized like ours, to sustain all the Functions of Infirmary and Weakness.

So consequently the new Earth must be contrived to supply from her Bowels, and from her Surface, for the Necessities of the Saints; and let me add, when the Libraries are all burnt, a Saint of Parts would pass his Time not so well as his Neighbours with none.

But when we come to the Change at the second Resurrection of Flesh, Blood, and Bones, into an incorruptible Substance, coelestial, and no longer Flesh and Blood; it is indeed perfect Transubstantiation; for if you change a material Substance into an immaterial one, it comes very near that Doctrine: All Change of Matter is only Motion of Parts first, and a different Situation from what they had before, the Matter remains still, and no other than material Properties can flow therefrom; the Words spiritual, coelestial, applied thereto must be taken in a metaphorical Sense, or they will be Nonsense; for Matter cannot be stripped of its essential Properties and not be annihilated; it must measure Space, or it is no Matter; and if it measures or divides Space numerically, it cannot be a Spirit.

The Doctor would not allow in the 7th Chapter, *Flesh and Blood to inherit the Kingdom of the Father; yet he will allow Flesh and Blood spiritualized, modified, and changed into he

* See, the former Volume, pag. 179.

knows not what, to inherit that Kingdom: But can Matter be put into a better Form for the Enjoyment of a Soul, than to be pliant and ductile to the Will? and can we conceive that so well without Organization? If therefore our Understandings are applied to, and made the Measure for this great Mystery, let us chuse the Hypothesis more agreeable, rational, and easy, and not turn organized Matter into a Lump, nor into a Flame, a Vapour, and a Whimsy, as the Doctor's prolifick Fancy has done.

I have just obliged the Reader with a preliminary View of the Doctor's Scheme; I shall come now to the Chapter it self. That the World shall be burnt by Fire I have just observed before in my Remarks, *pag. 171*; but whether the Doctor brings a better into its Place I much question. He is very fond of a Globe I should be perfectly weary of living upon, in half the common Period of human Life; and what he calls the Deformities of the Globe, are to me its Beauties, as I have before delivered my Thoughts in *Gaylard's Journal*, N^o IX. I shall here repeat them.

“ For my Part, I admire the Earth for its beauteous Varie-
 “ ty, the Hills, the Dales, the Rivers, and the Woods distinct-
 “ ly considered, may grow nauseous to the Eye, and pall upon
 “ the Sense; but Variety makes all agreeable; the mutual In-
 “ terchange and Mixture of Objects relieve the Fancy and re-
 “ fresh the Spirits; the Mountains, sometimes bald, and some-
 “ times covered with the verdant Woods, shew the Difference
 “ between naked and cultivated Nature. Let us suppose two
 “ Plans for Gardens to be formed, beautiful to the Eye; let
 “ one be a plain Superficies, and the other rough; I say that
 “ Art will give ten thousand more Beauties to the latter, than
 “ to the first. We may see this in the Gardens of *St. Cloud*, and
 “ *Marli*; take away the Masonry of *Versailles*, the Gardens will
 “ come into no Competition with the former. View but the
 “ Beauty of *Dovedale* in *Derbyshire*, a Heap of huge, unformed,
 “ mishapen Stones; you would imagine the whole, the scattered
 “ Pieces of a mighty Rock, blown up with Gunpowder; yet
 “ the green Shrubs covering those Rocks, the murmuring
 “ Brook running between them, and the stupendous Ascent
 “ adorned with Flowers, render that Place more agreeable than
 “ human Art can possibly perform; the Eye, the Fancy, and
 “ all the Senses of a Man, who has a Taste of natural Beauties,
 “ will longer dwell there, than upon all the Art bestowed upon
 “ *Versailles*.

He is very fond of restoring the antediluvian World for the Saints to live upon, or at least a World very much like it; whereas, in my Opinion, very material Objections may be formed against his Scheme.

His Hypothesis is, That the Earth, before the Deluge, moved in a direct Position to the Sun, and made the habitable World equinoctial, so that there was a perpetual Spring, a continual Fecundity; the Globe, though not perfectly round, was oval, without Mountains, and without Seas; the Rivers were supplied only from the Vapours raised by the Sun towards the Poles, from whence running by a gradual Descent (as from higher Ground to the lower) they were sucked up in the parched Sands of the torrid Zone.

He will by no means allow a Rainbow to have been before the Deluge, though it is a mathematical Consequence of a certain Position of the Sun to a Cloud; and if there was a Sun and Clouds before; Rainbows were certainly there: I shall just therefore deliver my Opinion of the Rainbow mentioned *Gen. ix.*

The Words must be taken in a restrained Sense; for literally they cannot be true, because two Men can never see the same Bow, as is evident to any one who consults Sir *Isaac Newton's* Treatise of OPTICKS, and his Hypothesis of the Rainbow; the Light strikes uniformly upon the whole Cloud, and only a Portion of the Refraction comes to the Eyes of one Man; and several Positions receive different Portions of that Refraction and reflected Illumination.

It is certain the Rainbow does not appear always when Rain comes on, but rather when it is passed over, and the Sun shines upon the flying Cloud; this is a Sign of fair Weather, and was a real Comfort in those Days to the People who had seen and felt a Deluge before, and whose Apprehensions must be very strong; and God therefore made this visible Phænomenon in the Skies, a Token of his Covenant with the World that it should be drowned no more, to comfort and refresh their Memories; though it might be seen before the Deluge, yet not with the same Regard: God may chuse the most common and obvious Things, and make them his Signs and Tokens, like *Gideon's* Fleece of Wooll, from that Time they become sacred Memorandums of his Promises; as when he ordered the Lintels and two side Posts of the Doors of the *Israelites* to be marked, to keep the Destroyer out, while he smote the first born of the *Ægyptians*.

I conclude, the Rainbow might be seen and known before, though it was afterwards made a Token of God's Peace with Mankind.

To return,

His Scheme for the Paradisiacal World has more Conceit and Fancy, than true Judgement; it may serve a Poet very well, but it will not be agreeable to Philosophy, nor to common Experience. What he supposes will enrich, will rather impoverish the Earth; he takes away the warm Vapours of the Sea, which moderate the sharp Breezes on the Land, and make Islands fertile, as is well known in our own Country.

Then the Variety of Seasons are so far from being an Enemy to Fecundity, that it out-do even the Plow-man's Toil and Care; the Beds of Snow are greater Helps than all the artificial Loads of Muck he lays upon his Ground, and the binding the Earth with Frosts recruits the perspiring Vigour and Heat of the same, and by an inward Fermentation subdues the four, cholical Humours in the Bowels thereof. His imaginary perpetual Spring may bring forth pretty Fruits; but it is very well known the true Fertility that brings Corn to a masculine Perfection, is in Countries far from the Equinox; we need not go far for a Proof of this.

The Doctor is very fond of a spontaneous Fecundity, and what is this spontaneous Fecundity but an Officiousness that the Husbandman curses, and brings him all his Toil? Will Corn spontaneously shoot through the Glebe without rival Weeds? and Will the Bramble restrain its luxuriant Fecundity, and not choke up the Peach, the Nectarine, and the Plumb? This Fecundity, without Labour, Toil, and Art, will bring forth a numerous Issue of very wild and disorderly Sons.

The Position of the Earth to the Sun is to do wonderful Things, though, in my Opinion, our Author is rather for shewing Tricks, than making a real Paradise; he takes Care of Fire to ripen every Thing, without Flavour, or without Taste; he pushes faster than Nature, and his Fruits come too soon for the Market, though they may please the Eye.

He has taken so very little Care for Water, that, in my Opinion, such a World as his needs no other Conflagration than his own Scheme; the *Athenian* Plague could not be more hot, more boiling, nor more ulcerous, than our Constitutions would be if the World was framed according to the Hypothesis of this contemplative Man: For he supposes the Sun to raise Vapours as you get Oil from Almonds, by Expression; he suffers the Earth to have no primeval Waters for Vapours, yet Vapours,

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are raised, that fall down and make Rivers and Lakes; and whether do these Rivers run? *Why from the Poles to the Equinoctial, and are there swallowed up in Sands.*

That a continual Flow of Rivers upon these Sands for the Space of 1500 Years, should not at last cause a Stagnation of Waters is very strange; he says, a Branch of the River *Euphrates* is swallowed up in the Sands of *Arabia*; I must beg his Leave to deny the Fact; and if one little Stream might meet with so inglorious and stifling a Fate, if we read Dr. *Halley's* Account of the Origin of Fountains and Rivers, without Sea we should find Occasion for vast Rivers to supply the Earth, that could not be easily choaked up, without making even a Marsh, and vast Pools of Waters, and consequently a Stagnation and Inundation would succeed.

I need not say how he contradicts the Scriptures in denying the Existence of Mountains and Seas before the Flood; I may add the evident Marks of the Deluge remaining to this Day, convince me there were Seas before: For when I find Beds of Cockles planted far from the Sea, in the midst of Gravel Pits, I conclude they were the Shells of Fishes, whose Element was the Sea *.

Upon the whole I conclude, if a new Earth must be made for the millenary Reign of Christ, and all wicked Men are to be shut up in Darkeness, with the Devil and his Angels, an Earth like our own will serve the Turn very well, without roasting it in the Sun, and turning our Blood into boiling Choler, without even Water to moisten our parched Throats.

But grant even the World, according to his Scheme, to be ever so beautiful and convenient, What Sort of Seat can it be for Christ, and for illuminated Saints? their Minds, after a long Peace in *Hades*, are more upon the beatifick Vision, and to such the World is stripped of most of its Pleasures: the Splendour of a Court, Gaiety of Conversation, frothy Wit, can have no Place, no Attachments in that new World; and take away the superfluous Administrations to Pleasure, the Earth will look with a very cold, and far from a paradisiacal Aspect.

* There is a Bed of these Cockle-shells at *Horstead* in *Norfolk*, in a Gravel Pit, in a rising Ground, near the River, by the Mill, where the Sea according to the Constitution of the Globe, since the Flood, could not have been; and is now twenty Miles from the Sea.

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To give really my Opinion of this present Earth: How much better other Planets may be I cannot say, I can find no Fault with its Formation, nor its Position towards the Sun: There are many beautiful Spots upon it, though *Groenland* may not be Paradise; and take the moral Corruptions away, I would not thank the Doctor for his equinoctial Position, nor give him any Praise for his levelling Scheme, and taking all the Mountains from off the Globe.

As for the new Heavens and the new Earth, this Argument proves too much or nothing for his Purpose. I will not pretend to penetrate the divine Wisdom, nor the Decrees of God. That Planets are consumable, and that Suns may in Time fail to give their Light, may be mathematically proved: In what Manner God will renew the Face of all Things, whether he will destroy both Suns and Planets at once, and in what Sense there will be new Heavens and a new Earth; or whether he gradually will burn up the most unactive and decayed ones; is beyond our Power to tell; nor can we ever know the Extent of the general Judgement, or whether it will reach into other Planets besides our own.

The new Heavens and new Earth, foretold by *Isaiah*, come up to no such general Description, because the Change relates only to *Jerusalem*, which can bear no Proportion with the Universe; neither does it come within the Marks of the millenary Scheme; for it is said, *Isaiah* lxxv. 20. *There shall be no more thence an Infant of Days, nor an old Man that hath not filled his Days; for the Child shall die an hundred Years old, but the Sinner being an hundred Years old, shall be accursed.* We find here upon this new Creation, if taken literally, there will be Death and Sin, which are incompatible with the millenary Reign of Christ: The Saints have no Death there but a Translation into their consummated State at the End of Christ's Reign, none are accursed, no Sins are committed under that Government, whose Subjects are winnowed, purified, and thoroughly cleansed before they come there.

If we consult the Scripture, by Heavens is always understood the indefinite Space above the Earth, and all the Bodies contained therein. When *Moses* had in the first Chapter of *Genesis* described the Formation of all super-terrestrial and terrestrial Bodies, he concludes, *Gen.* ii. 1. *That the Heavens and the Earth were finished, and all the Host of them, Στεγαστὰ τῆς γῆς*, which is very evidently explained, *Acts* vii. 4. by St. Stephen: *Then God turned and gave them up to worship the Host of Heaven; that is, the heavenly Bodies in their View: Heavens likewise*

likewise is very often extended to the Seat of God himself: *He bowed the Heavens also, and came down, and Darkness was under his Feet*, 2 Sam. xxii. 10. But we find likewise in the Holy Scriptures, a Gradation of Heavens, and the Dwelling of God, or the most eminent Heaven of all was called, the Heaven of Heavens, as 1 Kings viii. 27. *Behold the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain thee*. This Distinction we find in *Nehemiah ix. 6. Thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host*.

To conclude: By the new Heavens and the new Earth, we must understand, if any Thing literal, a Renovation of all the Company of Heaven, Suns and Planets, as it is described, *Isaiah xxxiv. 4. And all the Host of Heaven shall be dissolved, and the Heavens shall be rolled together as a Scroll; and all their Hosts shall fall down as a Leaf falleth off from the Vine, and as a falling Fig from a Fig-Tree*. This keeps up very near to 2 Pet. iii. 7. *But the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in store, reserved unto Fire against the Day of Judgement, and Perdition of ungodly Men*. He concludes, ver. 13. *We look for new Heavens and a new Earth*. If therefore by the new Heavens and new Earth, according to the constant Sense of the Scriptures, we must understand the whole World visible above our Heads, we shall find the Doctor's millenary Scheme intirely overfet.

For as to those Worlds being inhabited, and having Souls as capable of immortal Happiness as our own, I cannot even doubt: I shall use a very mean Comparison adapted to the most common Understanding.

If an *Indian* was supposed to be cast on Shore, upon our own Coast, and wandring up and down, should spy a Walnut-Tree spread its Branches above the Plain, thick with Clusters, loaded with Nuts, if his Curiosity and Hunger should invite him to make an Experiment, and to crack one, and he finds it full of Meat grateful to the Taste, would he not conclude the rest are the same? Would he think all the rest are made only for Show, to wait upon and augment the Train of this single Walnut, not near so beautiful nor so large as the rest, without any Meat or Usefulness of their own? I would give him up for an Ideot in this Case; for the Conclusion will not bear with the most common and natural Sense. Our Earth has no particular Advantages above the other Planets for Inhabitants, as far as we can judge by its Situation and Bigness: I am therefore for enlarging the Fruits of the Power and Wisdom of God beyond the common and narrow Views thereof. If he favoured this Earth only with
the

the Death of his Son, we have Room to praise and thank him; but I will never believe so many glorious Bodies, as even our Eyes can see, on this Side perhaps Millions more, may not have living Creatures as well as our own, very inconsiderable one in respect to a great many others. And I am confirmed strongly in this Opinion, by contemplating the Ring about *Saturn*; a seeming Irregularity and enormous Excrescence at the first View, yet by Astronomers it is found out to be an admirable Instance, I may say, an astonishing one, of the Providence and Wisdom of God over that cold Planet, to warm its Earth, and, perhaps, afford it as temperate and good a Situation as our own: These are all Signs and Marks of providential Tendernefs, and consequently that he has an Off-spring there.

I have not Room to enlarge here, let learned Men discuss the Rest. From what has been said, I conclude; the Prophets might apply the Similitude of the new Heavens and the new Earth to the Restoration of the *Jews*, and the Establishment of Christianity, or any joyous Situation of the Church: but the literal Application could not hold; for literally the Scheme is too large; for by the Doctor's millenarian Scheme, millions of Worlds, for ought we know, are to be destroyed, and the Inhabitants of those Worlds are to be dislodged, to usher in a mighty Change upon our little Earth, for a few pious Saints to live over again, a little longer than *Methusalem* and the other Antediluvian Patriarchs did: Is our Earth alone to be blessed with so happy, so mild, and so good a Government? an Earth never obedient to its great Creator's Will, that fell from God almost as soon as it was made, and persevered in Idolatry even to the Coming of Christ, and for Ages after; butchering, torturing, and destroying his Servants, without Pity, and without Compassion.

Well, let us even grant the Doctor's Scheme; when the thousand Years are at an End, Is the second Earth to be destroyed young and florid in its Bloom? is it to perish alone? or are the second Heavens to be jumbled again in so short a Space of Time? what a vast Hurry is here for so inconsiderable a Set of Men as to Number, and indeed to perform but a short-lived Service for them, to detain them from their Consummation of Glory, for an intermediate, dilatory, and imperfect Happiness?

When I reflect upon the Number of those in this World, who probably will be qualified for the Millennium, I question whether there will be a Saint for every Planet and Sun to be extinguished: The primitive Ages of Christianity may send

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a tolerable Plantation; but how few since breathe that Spirit? how few love Christ beyond all earthly Considerations, Humour, Passions, and carnal Affections? yet these only can expect him for a King, and to reign over them.

It is a very gross Imposition upon the Book of Revelations, to exact a literal Sense from a mythological Discourse. I grant, as I have observed before, the Prophet *Isaiah* and St. *John* might make use of the Similitude of new Heavens and a new Earth, and apply it to the State of the *Jewish* or Christian Church; and its possible the Thing it self may come to pass, and yet neither the Application, the same Circumstances at that great Change, nor that the Church meant by St. *John* will meet with this new Heaven and new Earth, consequently follows; Therefore *Grotius* has given an admirable Comment upon the 20th Chapter of St. *John*, much more natural than *Cornelius a Lapide* has done, who applies all to the triumphant Church in Heaven, and *Grotius* to the militant one upon Earth. The new Heavens and new Earth, according to *Grotius*, is the flourishing State of the Church in *Constantine's* Days; as *Isaiah*, under the Similitude of a new Heaven and a new Earth, describes the joyous State of the *Jews* after the Defeat of *Antiochus*. Compare *Isaiah* lxxv. 17. with lxxvi. 22.

The first Earth passed away; that is, it no more drank the Blood of innocent Martyrs; and there was no more Sea; there were no Multitude of Idolaters to lift up the Fury of their Waves against the Church. Dr. *Hammond* treads exactly in the Steps of *Grotius* in his Comment upon the Revelations; and this formidable Book that has frightened so many with its mystical Images, is no more than a prophetic History of the Revolutions of the *Jewish* and Christian Churches.

The Doctor is very fond of his paradisiacal World without Sea. I have already shewn some Absurdities of that Hypothesis, and shall here add, that it contradicts St. *Peter*, who says, 2 Ep. iii. 5. *The Heavens were of old, the Earth standing out of the Water, and in the Water*. The Rivers remain the same to this Day, which watered Paradise, and if the River *Euphrates* had not found a Passage into the Sea, it would have overflowed the Country. When we find the Rivers have the same Course they had before the Deep was broken up, we may conclude, the World has not undergone by the Deluge such a very wonderful Change as some are apt to imagine. But to return.

St. *Peter*, in his second Epistle, is more philosophical concerning this great Change, than either *Isaiah* or St. *John*; he says,

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says, *The Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat: The Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up.* All this may very probably happen, for the Reasons above given. He concludes, *ver. 13. We, according to his Promise, look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.* This most Commentators agree is Heaven, and the Consummation of Happiness; for we can have very little Share in the Righteousness of the heavenly Bodies when they shall be formed a-new; surely it is a very natural Transition from the Burning of the World at the Day of Judgement, to the World which we are to inhabit, and to enjoy therein eternal Happiness. Our State after Death is frequently called a World, and by new Heavens and a new Earth, is only meant a new State, or new World.

That a great many of the Fathers entertained the millenary Scheme, proceeded from their reading, and not understanding the *Apocalypse*. When Passions are upon the Float, the Fancy is very often affected; and I do no more wonder at them, than at *Brightman* who found out *Cromwell* and *Ireton* in the same Book. It was not an Article of Faith to believe, nor Heresy to deny; and therefore no Councils nor Canons were ready to thunder: on the other Side; it touches no Patrimony, no Prerogative in this World, and at the most only deserved Pity, as a harmless Delusion of well meaning Men.

The Doctor speaks very confidently of Prayers for the Dead in the primitive Times, when we have not so much as the least Scrap of a primitive Liturgy extant, nor the least Testimony for such Prayers in the first Ages of the Church, with the Catholick Fathers. Therefore the Doctor might have let *Tertullian* alone, and his Testimonies so low as *Valentinian* and *Gratian*. But to prevent any more Ambiguities arising from the Mention of the first Resurrection, I shall give my Conjectures why the Resurrection was sometimes so distinguished. *Tertullian* says, The pious Wife prays for her Husband's Share in the first Resurrection; and in a *Gothick* Liturgy, the Doctor observes a Prayer for a Share in the first Resurrection. To clear this, *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor. xv.* tells us, *As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; but every Man in his own Order; Christ the first Fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his Coming.* Its evident from hence, the Wicked rise last, and the Good are distinguished by their being together at the first Resurrection; for this the Prayers are made, that such Persons may have the first Resurrection with the Good, because it was an Earnest of their future Happiness upon the grand Inquest.

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If learned Men will not allow my Conjectures here to be right, the Field is open before them to make Objections: I am sure this seems to be no unnatural or forced Construction upon the Words of those Prayers, nor of St. Paul.

Prayers for the Dead is a very general Expression: They may be very innocent, and they may be very presumptuous and sinful; but none can amount to a Duty; because divine Revelation is utterly silent in that Affair; I mean, as to the State of the Dead before the Resurrection; but as far as is revealed to us we may pray for, if it hits any Strings of Devotion and Piety in our Minds; though, in my Opinion, those Prayers are unnecessary, after the Lot is cast, as it certainly is when we die.

While there are Hopes of Change, and a doubtful Prospect of Melioration, its a Duty to offer up our Prayers for our Friends, our Relations, our Enemies, and the whole World: But we have no such Melioration promised in the Scriptures beyond the Grave; the Offices of the Church, and the Commission given to the Apostles of remitting and retaining Sins suppose the contrary: Says our blessed Saviour to his Apostles, *Whose soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever Sins ye retain, they are retained*: Its plain, therefore, those Persons sent out of the World in that Manner, departed in full Forgiveness with God; and to bring any lustrating or purging Fires upon them, is to contradict the Scripture.

The Psalmist says, *Blessed is the Man unto whom the Lord imputeth not Iniquity, and in whose Spirit there is no Guile*, Ps. xxxii. 3. I take it for granted, if a Man departs in that Condition, his Lot is cast for *Hades* first, and eternal Happiness hereafter.

Our blessed Saviour says, *Luke xv. 7. There may be just Persons who need no Repentance*, even in this World, much less in *Hades*: for if they depart instantaneously in that Condition, their Lot is certainly very happy, and wants no Prayers of ours upon Earth.

Upon the whole, I conclude, the Church has made Provision of Safety for all who die in her Terms, and none for any other; and her Terms are no more than the Consequences of the Commission given to the Apostles, to absolve upon a sincere Repentance; this casts the Lot for those on the right Side of *Hades*, and our Prayers are cast away upon them.

To give the Doctor his own Scope, praying for a Share in the first Resurrection, was only mediately in order to our eternal Happiness in Heaven; and praying that the Living, upon their Departure, may be on the right Side of *Hades*, answers all the Ends we can propose of praying for the Dead; because the first Step determines our Journey, and whither we shall go.

Death

Death shoots our Souls from our Bodies like an Arrow from a Bow, and where the Arrow lights, the Bow must follow, for there is no Quiver to pluck any more from.

I have premised so far only just to state the Question of praying for the Dead, the Parent of many Absurdities, and fairy Notions, and unless we state clearly no Certainty can arise.

To return. I will grant the Doctor the same Men who hold the Day of Judgement to be at Hand, to be the Patrons of his millenarian Scheme; but when he flings it upon all the *Nicene* Fathers, upon the Credit of *Cyzicenus*, I must beg his Pardon. This Author's Book is in *Labbe's Councils*, *Tom. 2.* and no Man who reads what he fathers upon that Council, will give any Credit to the Work; and therefore he is worthily stigmatized by *Dr. Cave*, in his *Historia Rei literariae*; and I am sorry the Doctor did not consult him, when he quoted that Author. I must confess, he does put in a suspicious Word or two; *Si Gelasio Cyziceno fides*, if we may believe *Gelasius Cyzicenus*: But when so great a Body of Men were concerned, it was unpardonable to fix them upon the Credit of *Gelasius*, who has made the Council father his own Questions and Answers. Moreover he was so far from being a just Historian, that *Dr. Cave* ridicules him even there too. The Gentleman lived in the 5th Century, and found out an antient Book concerning the Council of *Nice*, wrote by *Dalmatius* Arch-Bishop of *Cyzicum*, with the Help of this, and of *Eusebius* and *Rufinus*, he composed the History of the Council of *Nice*.

The Doctor will not believe this present Earth will last above one thousand Years; and he concludes from thence, the Millennium cannot fall on this side the Day of Judgement. But what Authority has he for so forward a Conjecture? the Earth has all the Signs of Youth and Improvement on its Side; there are Beds of Minerals, in all Probability, for forty thousand Years more, and the Propagation of Mankind is not upon the Decay. When I see a Man in his full Health and Vigour, it's ill-natured to say, he will die in the Bloom of his Age; yet we are continually foretelling the Destruction of our Earth, in its Floridness and perfect Youth. There have not been since the Deluge above eighty very moderate Generations; yet near 1700 Years ago, the primitive Christians were very warm for the Day of Judgement; a hasty anticipating these Events has caused great Mischiefs in the World; the Pope has been held for Anti-Christ, and if, by any Accident, he had been driven ashore in the last Century upon *England*, he would have been flung corporeally into a Bonfire. The Rebels of that Age talked till they

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they really believed themselves Saints; and the *Cameronians* equally believed themselves at *Pentland-Hills* under the Direction of God, and his Conduct, as the *Israelites* really were at the Red-Sea; all this came to pass by Mis-interpretation of Scripture, and Anticipation of Prophecies, or applying them too late.

We live in an Age full of Inventions and Improvements every Day, even in Mechanicks and Husbandry; a certain Sign of a young World: Surely we may let it have its mature Manhood, its autumnal and its winter Age, before we cut it down, and with its Fall bring down the numerous Host of Heaven to attends it Obsequies. Can we believe God planted the Realms of Space, with so many habitable Worlds and Suns, for so short a Time as 6000 Years? *Saturn* has made few Revolutions since the World was made, and must he be dissolved, burnt, before he has made as many Turns as would roast a Leg of Mutton? This is a very odd Scheme of the Creation, and incredible to believe. New Heavens and a new Earth in so short a Time, is rather a Work of Sport, than the serious Operation of divine Wisdom.

Though the Time is concealed from us, and we are told, it shall come as a Thief in the Night, yet *St. Peter* has given us a Hint for a loose Calculation, that it is very far off; *Be not ignorant*, says he, *that one Day is with the Lord as a thousand Years, and a thousand Years as one Day*, 2 *Pet.* iii. 8. This he observes as an Answer to them who expected the sudden Coming of Christ. If we allow a thousand Years for every Day in which he was expected after his Ascension to come again, 40000 Years will not reach that great and terrible Day. So much I have thought to premise, to stop the Career of the Doctor in bringing on the Day of Judgement.

Brevity will not permit me to observe more upon this Chapter: Only in relation to *Schechinah*, I refer the Reader to *Dr. Tennison's* admirable Book upon that Subject. The Divinity has, and will make an Appearance to the Saints in some bright, agreeable, lucid Form; and, perhaps, it may be in a human Shape or Form as most agreeable and familiar to our Eyes. Such was the *Schechinah* that appeared to *Abraham*, with two Angels to attend him. But I observe in the millenary Reign upon Earth, all the Saints will have hardly Time and Leisure to come to Court, or to stay there long; so that the World will, perhaps, run then in some measure as it does now: Necessity will make the best stay at home. To what Purpose then is the *Schechinah* upon Earth as to any general Benefit?

I conclude, this World has too many Clogs for Happiness; it may seem very well for a State of Probation and Trial, but not for lasting Enjoyment.

A Digression concerning the State of the Jews in the Millennium, and the future Reign of the Messiah.

A Celebrated Question offers upon this Head, What Place the *Jews* are to have in this Kingdom of the *Messiah*. It must be confessed, to them the Promises were first made of the *Messiah* and of his Kingdom; and their *Canaan* or promised Land, was the Type of this new Earth, and new Kingdom; and St. *Paul* has told us (a), the Seed of *Abraham* should be Heirs of the World to come; for in this they have no Share. Moreover, the Angel told *Mary*, concerning *Christ* to be born; *The Lord God shall give unto him the Throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end*, Luk. i. 32, 33. Yet this Kingdom is now possessed by *Mahometans* (b). Moreover, the Prophets promised the *Jews*, not only Restoration from the *Babylonish* Captivity, but also new Glory and Felicity, greater than they had before.

The Prophet *Isaiab* foretells a new Earth and new Heavens, and a new *Jerusalem*, (c) the Seat of this future Felicity; and the same was laid down in like Characters by the other Prophets.

(a) Rom. iv. 13. Heb. xi. 10. (b) See *Philo* quis Hæres sit Mundi, Dan. vii. 14. Mic. iv. 7. (c) Zeph. iii. 20. Isa. lxxv. 17. lxxvi. 22.

Lastly, *St. John*, in the *Revelations*, in describing the Kingdom of *Christ*, and the future Glory thereof, expressly mentions the *Jews*, and begins with their Conversion: *Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him, and all kindreds of the Earth shall wail because of him.* Afterwards the Throne of *Christ* is described, *ch. iv. v. 4.* twenty-four Elders were sitting, which were the *Jews* united to the *Christians*, *i. e.* the twelve Apostles and the twelve Patriarchs joined together, or the *Phylarchies* of the *Jews*; as the Foundations of the new *Jerusalem* had upon them the Names of the twelve Apostles, and upon the Gates were the Names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, *ch. xxi. 12. 14.* And in the seventh Chapter, when the Servants of God were sealed, the Tribes of *Israel* were first; then of all Nations, Tribes, People, and Languages; a numerous Multitude, and 144000 were standing upon Mount *Sion* with the Lamb, *ch. xiv. 1.*

(a) And when the seventh Angel sounded in the Kingdom of *Christ*, the twenty four Elders prostrated themselves before the Throne, and said; *And the time of the dead is come, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give Rewards unto thy Servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.* Then was the Temple of God open in Heaven, and the ark of his testament was seen in his Temple. The Ark of the Testament was the Monument of the Covenant made with *Abraham* and the *Jews*, which God had given his Word always to remember as an eternal perpetual League. And

by this Sign *Christ* had promised he would not forget his Covenant made with that antient People, but bring them in as Partners of his Kingdom — In the same manner in the 15th Chapter, before the Pouring out of the Vials of divine Wrath, after the Saints had sung the Song of *Moses* and of the Lamb, the Temple of the Tabernacle was opened in Heaven, to signify the divine Presence, as before upon the Departure from *Agypt*, and afterwards in the Tabernacle, where the Tables of the Law were placed; in the same manner the *Jews* and *Christians* will unite in one Church.

Lastly, in the following Chapters of this Prophecy, in many Places the *Jews* are favoured, and the Apostles are joined with the Prophets, as triumphing with the Lamb over the Beast, and praising God. The Bride, *ch.* xix. 8. prepares for the Marriage of the Lamb, cloathed with the Righteousness of the Saints. I am not ignorant the Spouse of the Lamb is generally understood to be the *Christian* Church, distinguished from the *Jewish*, in the Time of *Constantine*, when the *Roman* Empire became compleatly Christian: But this is the Opinion of those * * * * who neither expect nor acknowledge any Conversion of the *Jews*, in opposition to the plain and manifest Words of *Christ*, and of *St. Paul*, and to the sacred oracles of the Prophets, and to the whole Force and Scope of the *Revelations*, which terminate in the Union of both the *Jewish* and *Christian* Churches in that Kingdom of *Christ*, when he shall collect the *Jews* and *Gentiles* into one common Flock and be their King.

Lastly, when we come to the Perfection of this Dispensation, to the Restitution of all Things,
and

and to the Renovation of Nature in a new Heaven and a new Earth, the new *Jerusalem*, the holy City comes down from Heaven, *ch. xxi. 2.* *As a Bride adorned for her Husband.* This is that Bride so often called the new *Jerusalem* and the holy City, that puts us in Mind of the *Jews* and of *Jerusalem* their Metropolis and antient Seat. And we cannot deny them their Share in this, and in the last Chapter of that Book, though to whom the Superiority will belong, is too obscure a Question for this Place. It is plain from what hath been said, the *Jews* and *Gentiles* will be gathered together under one Head, which is *Christ*, when his glorious Kingdom shall begin upon Earth.

We must likewise observe, that what is here said of the Tabernacle of God, and of his Habitation with Men, were old Promises made to the *Jews* before. See *Ezekiel, ch. xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. Zech. ii. 10. Is. xii. 6.* Upon the Completion of these Promises, from the Mouth of the *Christian* Prophet, surely it is just to give the first Proprietors their Share in this Glory.

The Time of this Restoration of the *Jews*, will be the Time of their Sabbath, the Time of the Resurrection from the Dead; and therefore after the Renovation of Heaven and Earth, in the Millenarian Reign of *Christ*, ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι μέλλοντι, in the Age to come; and therefore the Resurrection which is foretold by the Prophets, *Is. xxvi. 19, 20, 21. Ez. xxxvii. 12. Hos. xiii. 14. Rom. xi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. xv. 54. Dan. xii. 1, 2.* regards particularly the *Jews*, and *Michael* the great Prince is *Christ*.

The *Jews* (a), by their Corruptions and Violations of their Law, by the just Sentence of God,

(a) The Restoration is to begin from *Lombard-street*.

have made Way for the *Christians*; and they in their Turns by the like Corruptions and Violations, will make way for the *Jews* again, both alternately abusing the Goodness of God, and alternately succeeding * * * * in his Punishments and Rewards.

From hence, it is just to believe, the *Jews* will have no small Share in this Millenarian Reign. On the other Side indeed it may be objected * * * * 1st that the Millennium is appropriated only to the *Christians*. *I saw the Souls of them who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the Beast, neither his Image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, &c. And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.* Then it is said, *Rev. xxi. 22.* That in the new *Jerusalem*, there was to be no Temple, which seems to relate to the *Jewish* Worship. I answer to the First, that the *Jews* are no more, than the *Christians*, excluded from this Millennium; the above mentioned Texts prove they are not to have the most inferiour Situation in that Kingdom, and it was very agreeable to the Series of the Prophecies of *St. John*, taking in the Kingdom of Antichrist and the Destruction thereof, to introduce the Triumphs of the *Christians* over Antichrist in their Opposition, even to the intire Abolition thereof; when the Enemy is Conquered the Heroes in the Fight have their just Praises, though others partake of the Fruits and Consequences of their victorious Toils.

To the second I answer; There will be no Temple nor *Judaical*. (a) Worship in that Kingdom;

(a) The Doctor has obliged the *Fanatics* much, and the *Deists* more; to paint in the strongest Colours the happy Reign in the Millennium, he takes away Ceremonies and Churches too.

for

for then even all *Christian* as well as *Jewish* Ceremonies, will be abolished; they will unanimously acknowledge *Jesus* for the *Messiah*, and worship God according to the universal Purity of Heart and Mind common to both Professions. The bloody Sacrifices will give way to Praise and Thanksgivings, for neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision will avail any Thing, but new Creature formed after the Image of God.

Notwithstanding, the *Israelites* will have their Share in this future *Canaan*, of Peace and Quiet, as the Apostle says to the *Hebrews*, *there remaineth therefore a rest*, σαββατισμὸς, *to the People of God*: *Heb. iv. 9.* by whom he means the *Israelites*, by Covenant appropriated to God. And though this Sabbatism may be taken in an Evangelical Sense, the *Jews* have not yet had their (a) Rest. As therefore their seven Years Sabbath, and their Land of *Canaan*, were Types of what this Sabbatism is the Antitype, there remains for them another more glorious Rest, a more happy Land of *Canaan*, that the Antitype may answer more compleatly the Type.

I must confess the *Revelations* have a more particular regard to the *Jewish* Millennium, though it does not belong to them only, as appears from *Revelations vii. 9. xx. 4.*

But that many Places, and indeed the whole Scope of the Prophecy relate to the *Jews* is very Evident. See *Holmes, vol. 2. p. 125, 126.*

Christ is the Creator of both Worlds, the present and that to come. That he is the Creator of the First, see *Pf. cii. 25. Joh. i. 3. Col. i. 16, 17. Heb. i. 10.*

(a) More than those concerned with them I believe.

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As to the World to come, the *Messiah* is said to be πατήρ τῷ αἰῶνος μέλλοντος, the Father of the World to come. *Isai.* ix. 6. Therefore the Author to the *Hebrews* says, τὴν οἰκισμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, *Ch.* ii. 5. is in a peculiar manner subject to him. The *Jews* call it מלכות and is as well the natural as the moral World. We must next enquire, if they make the *Messiah* the Author of that World or not.

I do not remember the *Messias* in the Scriptures, is said to be the Creator of the new Heavens and new Earth.

From hence we are brought to observe, in the second Place, that in this Kingdom of *Christ*, and of his Saints, there will be the Perfection of the *Christian* Religion, and of the Dispensation of Providence towards this World: That Religion will be, in the new Heavens and new Earth under *Christ* its Head, changed as to its outward Form; though it will be far more bright and shining in inward Sanctity of Mind, it will be more distinct, clear and unclouded than what we have in this World. Religion gradually rises to its Purity and Perfection; natural Religion, is the Foundation of all revealed and positive Institutions, from whence they flow, and whither they return, as Rivers run into the Sea.

For the Government of the World, God has appointed three religious Dispensations: The first of the Sense and outward Works, with very little Light or Knowledge of divine Things: The Second of the Affections and sacred Enthusiasm, with a more full, though incompleat Light or Knowledge of divine Things: Thirdly, The Perfection of Senses, Affections, and Reason, operating with a full Light and Knowledge of divine Things

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Things in the World to come, as far as is consistent with a serene State; Rites, Ceremonies, and Shadows, will vanish before pure Virtue and Truth, in their Fulness of Light, illustrating the whole World. *Christ* said to the *Jews*, among those that are born of woman, there is not a greater prophet than *John the Baptist*, but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he, i. e. greater in the extensive Knowledge and Sense of Divine Things, and the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth. Oh! happy Days, golden Age and blessed Life! Let thy Kingdom come, O Lord, thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Why dost thou defer thy Promise to come and renew all Things; and delay thy Chariot Wheels? *Let all thine enemies perish, O Lord: but let them that love him be as the Sun when he goeth forth in his might, Jud. v. 32.*

These Things I have briefly observed concerning the Millennium, the rest may be seen in our Theory. After this Millennium, the final Judgment, the Consummation of all Things, and the second Resurrection are to follow. I must confess this second Resurrection and second Judgment, are not expressly mentioned in the Scriptures; but both are plainly hinted at in this Vision of *St. John*, shewing the Millennium, one to be at the Beginning, and the other at the End of it; and the Resurrection is without distinction mentioned to know the first from the second. *St. Paul*, to the *Corinthians* (a), treats only of the last, as I have before observed: but *Christ* refers to the second, *Luk. xiv. 15.* he calls it the Re-

(a) How well the Doctor has proved it see in my Remarks.
Resurrection

urrection of the Just; they are the Just only, who are to have their Share therein, from which the Wicked are to be excluded. (See *Rev.* xx. 4, 5. *Psal.* i. 5.) This is the first time of Retribution, and is the Resurrection of the Just in τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, in the Regeneration when Christ promises his Rewards to his Saints, *Matt.* xix. 28, 29. In the second and last Resurrection, the Glory of the Just will be consummated; when Mortality shall be swallowed up, and our terrestrial Bodies turned into glorious and celestial ones, and we shall actually be ἱσάγγελοι equal to Angels.

This will be the End and Consummation of all humane Things. But if we inquire what shall become of our Earth when the Inhabitants are gone, we have given our Opinion in the Theory. But as these Heads are perfectly dubious, and problematick, and out of the Sphere of Christian Faith, they are omitted in this Place.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Heaven and Hell; what is the Heaven of the Christians, and how far local; what is Hell, and whether there is a subterraneous one or not; or any other local, corporeal and external one before the Day of Judgement and the Conflagration of the World; of the Pains of Hell; whether they are infinite, or finite, or no.

WE have finished all we have had to say concerning human Affairs; we must here, now, treat of Heaven and Hell. By Heaven the Christians

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Christians mean the State and Place of future Happiness; the Seats of blessed Souls, in Regions above, remote from us. In this the Christians agree with the wisest heathen Philosophers, who remitted back the Souls of good Men to the Place from whence they came. The Poets, indeed, a People bold and extravagant, according to their own Fancies have refined upon, and new modelled the antient Opinions, and they over shadow the Truth with the Fictions of Elysian Fields, to place Souls in, upon Earth, or in the fortunate Islands; or more absurdly in Regions under Ground: So grossly does *Virgil* adapt his Fancy to the popular Taste, formed from some obscure and corrupted Notions of the antient Paradise. Its certainly true, the Saints will enjoy a very happy Life in the new Earth, or Paradise. But here I do not treat of the intermediate Happiness and partial Felicity of the Saints, my Scope and View is towards the last Resurrection after the Millennium: When after having put on their heavenly Bodies, they shall be translated to consummate Glory and Joy.

All Christians agree in these cœlestial and super-cœlestial Seats: the School-men call it the *Empyream*, or fiery Heaven: And all the rest mean thereby, the Habitation of the Blessed for ever. But as nothing of this igneous Heaven appears to us, except the Bodies of the Sun and fixed Stars, their System of the heavenly Disposition is imaginary and fictitious: They suppose all the Heavens to have one common Center, and to be wrapt in each other like the Coats of Bulbous Roots. This indeed holds, as to the Orbs of the Planets in some measure, but with the fixed Stars by no means; for they are not placed upon
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the same equal Superficies, but at different Distances from us, are immersed in the Heights of Space above, and have all their proper Orbs to themselves: And whereas these Men feign the World of fixed Stars above the Planets, and from thence extend Orb above Orb, till they come to the *primum Mobile*, or the highest Empyræan Heaven; their fictitious Scheme will agree neither with the real Structure of the Heavens, the Order of the Stars, nor indeed with any astronomical or philosophical Scheme. These Gentlemen seem to take their Hint from the elementary Fire; they place it in the highest Heavens, as being more light and subtle, more pure and refined than all the Rest: But, alas, how far from Truth! for the igneous Substance is not at the Extremity of the Orbs, but in their Center, and forms the lucid flammeous Body of a Star; and unless you put the Souls of good Men into the Sun, or some of these flaming Stars, no other Empyræan Heaven is to be found.

But though this Empyræan Scheme is fictitious enough, it remains nevertheless, that some Stars may differ from other Stars in Glory, Light and Flame: And wherever the Schechinah, or glorious Body of Christ is, the Rays dart like a new Star within the Sphere of the Blessed, from under the Throne of his Glory: As the dying Words of Christ to his Father are, (a) *Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my Glory which thou hast given me: For thou lovedst me before the Foundation of the World.* The exact and the material Dimensions of this Place, is not our Business, nor our Intent

(a) John xvii. 24.

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to point out: Whereas we shall have our Habitations in Heaven, and be made *Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*, Col. i. 12. Perhaps this Inheritance is not only above the Moon, but even the Atmosphere of the Planets, or their Shades, in the æthereal Regions of eternal Light. Lastly, As Christ has said, *In his Father's House there are many Mansions*, John xiv. 2. the Saints are nearer their Perfection of Glory, the nearer they are to the Schechinah, and to the Throne of Glory.

So much for the Seat of the Blessed: But as to their State of Happiness and Felicity in these æthereal Regions, the Apostle has said, (a) *Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it entered into the Heart of Man, the Things which God has prepared for them that love him*; they are beyond any Senses, any Idea's we now have: They are to be ranked under two Heads, the Body and the Soul. What Bodies they shall have, we have before treated in the 7th and 8th Chapters*. They will be free from the Sickneses, Troubles, and Pains of our Flesh; and Reason will hold a free and undisturbed Reign over the whole; the Faculties of the Soul will be growing up to their full Maturity and Perfection; the Senses and the Affections, and all the Operations of the Mind, will be more vegete, more lively, and employed upon the most illustrious and entertaining Objects.

We shall have new and wonderful Objects before us, when being advanced above the Planets, we see the wide Ocean of Space below, with Variety of inhabited Earths, swimming therein.

(a) 1 Cor. ii. 9. * Pag. 145 and 179, of the former Volume.
The

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The visual Eye will bring Objects nearer than the most accurate Glasses (*a*), and contract the most remote within its View, whose Rays cannot pierce our Atmosphere, nor be seen by us below: Then we shall see the fixed Stars, the everlasting Fires of Heaven, prodigious Suns, crouded beyond each other through infinite Regions of Space; what Pleasure will the immense Prospect yield? our God is great, that God who made and formed the Universe? How mean is our Earth to the large Expanse of Heaven? See *Seneca's* natural Questions, *Præfat. Quàm juvat inter sidera, &c?* How delightful is it to dwell amongst the Stars, &c?

Lastly, Besides the Grandour and the Magnificence of the Works of God, the Beauty of those Works spread over the Face of Heaven, when the Stars shining like Gems illustrate the Skies, will more evidently appear; the Rays refracted in the Orbs create such Variety of Rainbows (*b*) and modified Lights, as are told by the Prophet of the holy City, *Rev. xxi. 18, 19, &c.* Let me add, that when we are placed above all the Planets, in the æthereal Regions, we shall not see the Hemisphere, or half the Circle of the Heavens; but the whole Sphere, the great Amphitheatre of the World, with the Throne of the great King, and the most splendid *Apparatus* thereof will appear at one View. And what Addition the divine *Schechinah* will make to this glorious Spectacle, is beyond my Power to express in Words.

(*a*) The Doctor has forgot all he has said before against an organized Body, and their Eye.

(*b*) The Doctor is very much for a millenarian Heaven. This is wretched Divinity, worse Philosophy, though pretty Fancy: I suppose we shall ride Cock-a-hoop upon a Rainbow, and fly upon a Cloud of Light.

But what are these only Pleasures of the Sense? the Happiness of the Saints in Heaven is in the Contemplation of the Mind, and Affections of the Soul. A Felicity that will not bear the vulgar Day-light, and, as the Apostle says, *Hath not entered into the Heart of Man in this present Life.* For it is certain, the more noble the Objects of the Understanding are, the Mind dwells with the more pure and serene Pleasure upon them: Nothing in the Universe exceeds the divine Nature and Perfections, nor within infinite Distances comes up to them; and consequently no greater Happiness can arise to a rational Soul, than the Contemplation and Love of that God. It is plain, therefore, we cannot have even the most imperfect Idea here, nor Words to speak, nor Fancy to paint that Happiness to us below; so utterly distinct are the Enjoyments of this and another Life from each other.

To proceed: According to the Degree of our Encrease and Perfection in the Knowledge of God, our Love and Admiration enlarge their Bounds; the sweetest and most happy Affections of all human Nature. Then we shall come to the last Stretch and Power of our Knowledge in divine Things, as both Scripture and Reason tell us; we shall first be like Infants, and then come to the Maturity of our manly Age: (a) *For now we see through a Glass darkly; but then Face to Face: Now I know in Part; but then I shall know even as I also am known.* These Words of the Apostle, notwithstanding their latent Sense, in general shew us our Knowledge will be advanced in Heaven.

(a) I Cor. xiii. 12.

And this, indeed, Reason and the Nature of the Thing never fail of demonstrating; because in our heavenly Life, all these Things concur that extend and enlarge Knowledge. The Helps thereto, and the Incitements from our external Senses, are more strong and vigorous, and more penetrating, even in minute or distant Objects, than human Organs can render ours at this Day. The Purity of our celestial Body, and the Tenuity thereof, give way to the penetrating Force of Reason and Wit, running through all the Degrees of Contemplation, till we come to the Understanding and Excellency of Angels: And from the Purity of both Mind and Body, we are disposed to receive God: By that I mean the divine Influences and Illuminations exalted far above all the Gifts of Nature: That eternal Truth and intellectual Light is diffused all around, and disposed according to the Gifts and Capacities of the Receiver, and the Souls thus enlarged, take in a more copious Draught of divine Rays. This our outward Incrustation of Flesh, our Covering of Clay, excludes the Sparks of divine Light; though from the few we have, we may expect a full Harvest, and compleat Beams of Light at last.

To this we may add, the crowning Felicity of all in Heaven, the beatifick Vision: By this we mean, the corporeal and external, or the incorporeal and intellectual one. The corporeal will be the Vision of the Schechinah, (a) or of our Lord JESUS CHRIST in (b) his glorious Body: For God in himself is an invisible and pure Spirit:

(a) John xvii. 24.

(b) How the Angels see God, *Matt.* xviii. 10. as we shall see.

Incorporeal Vision is the Contemplation of the divine Nature, and as it were in a Glass, the View of the eternal and ideal World, and of the external and temporary one. By the ideal World, I mean the Essences and Idea's of Things eternal; immutable Truths arising from the Relation of Things to each other, the Order of all possible Things from the most great and perfect Being of all, through all the intermediate Degrees, to the lowest Class of almost nothing: An immediate Intuition and Contemplation upon all these in the Bosom of the Father, in the same Manner and Order they are in the divine Understanding, is the true beatifick Vision.

We say, therefore, this contemplative Vision includes both Worlds; the eternal and immutable one, in the divine Understanding, and the present, mutable, temporary World governed by the Will of God. Here opens a large Field of Contemplation, whose least Part we cannot even pursue in this Life, much less the Number, Order, Greatness, Perfection, Vicissitudes and Periods of created Beings: How little do we know of the Furniture of this World, the natural History of the Animals, Plants, and inanimate Beings therein? how many planetary Worlds are there besides, equally prepared and furnished up as ours, with different Degrees of animate and inanimate Things? and how are we lost in contemplating upon the inexhaustible Fecundity of the Wisdom of God, spread over the Face of all Things in new Appearances, and various Beauties given to every one, yet all just, fair, and proper.

- - - *Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse Sororum.*

- - - *For tho' not every Face alike,
Nor the same Features on the Fancy strike,
The kindred Blood in every Part they own.*

But over and above this Order of natural Things in the planetary Worlds, there is likewise a Moral, or religious Dispensation, by which the Inhabitants of each are directed in the Worship of God, and in the Pursuit of Virtue and Happiness, in the OEconomies replete with infinite variety in so many Worlds. The divine Wisdom, Goodness, and Justice shine in their full Glory, and in these Worlds all the Mysteries of Providence are contained; even as in ours, the whole Mystery of the *Messiah*, the *Alpha* and *Omega* is fulfilled: What is performed in the rest we do not know; but if we may judge from one Example of all, we may suppose they are filled with Instances of most admirable Wisdom, branched into several Forms and Ministrations. To have these Treasures opened to our View; this vast Magazine of the Secrets of Providence, and the whole Theory of Religions in the Universe disclosed: What Raptures, agreeable Motions in the Soul, and pleasing Sensations must this Prospect cause? nothing is more sweet than to advance in Knowledge, and the Enjoyment of Truth.

Observe only the fixed Stars, those noble Bodies far exceeding the Planets as to Bulk and Excellency; they do not, as they seem to us, stick upon the Superficies of one Covering, but they are variously dispersed over the vast Concavity of the Heavens: These Morning Stars, we may safely

conclude from the Notion of the divine Power, have their Inhabitants, instructed to sing Praises to God (See *Job xxxviii. 7.*) I say, they have Natives and Animals proper to the Place, and all other Things proportionally greater, according to the Dignity and Magnitude of these primary Bodies.

Lastly, What now is hid from our Eyes, we shall then perfectly see the intellectual System of the World; I mean the Orders of Angels and Arch-Angels, and the illustrious and glorious Hierarchy there, next to God in Understanding and Majesty, and governing the Universe: When we see this cœlestial Army drawn forth, their Numbers, Forces, Degrees and Dignities, all human Objects will pall upon the Sense, *(a) The former shall not be remembered, nor come into Mind: (b) The Prophet spoke in relation to the new Earth; but much more in that cœlestial Glory, Oblivion will be drawn over the Memory of Things past, nor leave even Room for the minute and inconsiderable Enjoyments of this Life; the Mind will have only the greatest and the best to chuse, to contemplate upon and enjoy in that happy State for Eternity.*

From what has been said, we have sufficiently explained the beatifick Vision: But as to the corporeal Vision, it is the sensible View of the external World, in a much better Manner than it is now to be seen; when we shall view the divine *Schechinah*, or Glory of Christ. The incorporeal Vision is another Kind of *Schechinah*, or the internal and mental Vision of God: The Object of this Vision is two-fold; *First*, the antemundan, or immoveable Idea of God, and of all possible and

(a) Isaiah lxxv. 17.

(b) Jerem. iii. 16, 17.

eternal

eternal Things. *Secondly*, the mundane Idea of all created and external Beings, open at one View to the Understanding, in its full Latitude, through all the Changes, Periods, and Divisions of the Universe, the Orders of created Beings, the Series of Ages from the Beginning of Time to the End thereof: This I call the universal Glass of Providence; nor can more great, nor more glorious Objects come before an angelick or human Understanding; and if from Seeing and Contemplation Felicity arises, thrice, nay, four times happy are those who borrow Light from this Light, and Life from this Fountain of Life, inebriated with these Torrents of Delight, transported with these Extacies and Effusions, they receive the whole God into their Breasts.

Let me likewise add, to explain this Mystery of the Vision of God, we shall see him then Face to Face as he is, though now we see him only in his Works; we shall see him then in himself, in his proper Essence as he is, though now we only see him in his Attributes: In this State the divine Goodness, Justice, Power, Wisdom, Will and Understanding appear different; now God seems to us to act, and sometimes not to act at all; so various is his Measures, that we cannot see him to be a simple and immutable Being, but rather a compounded one occasionally, and not uniformly active; but when we shall see God as he is, all these will unite into one simple and immutable Nature: This is to see God, and to contemplate him as he is, a Being infinitely perfect, Being of Beings, what Glory . . . it is time to stop here: Why do we, like Children, stumble at Things beyond our Understanding in this World, searching in the Dark, and leaving the glorious Things untouched

touched upon? let us go to the third Heaven with *St. Paul*, to learn those ἀπόρρητα, ineffable Mysteries. The Scripture is silent, or at least very slightly passes over this State of the Dead, and the Happiness thereof, or shadows the same with the metaphorical Expressions of *Rivers of Pleasures, Delights of Paradise and Crowns*, to allure and take the common Understandings, which measure their Felicity by these splendid Characters and gay Notions. Moreover,

The double Felicity of the Saints, the first in the new Earth in the Reign of Christ for a thousand Years, the second an everlasting and eternal Consummation of Happiness, are sometimes confounded; though the Scriptures speak more frequently of the first than of the last; the first has a Proximity to us; and its State, excepting some little Evils attending us here, is not unlike our present Station: But the last, as being perfectly celestial, is so different, both in its Ends and Scope, and accedes so near to an angelical Life, that a modern Understanding takes in no Idea thereof.

St. John, therefore, very well observed, (a) *It doth not appear what we shall be* (viz. in Heaven), *but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him.* Lastly, Christ says, we shall be ἰσαγγέλοι, equal to Angels; as to Body we shall be like Christ, as to Body and Mind we shall be like Angels. This two-fold Conformity contains therein the Seeds of various sorts of Perfection; for as we take in new Strength for intellectual Actions, and to compleat the Knowledge of Truth, and our Love of God, and our Happiness grow up with this Knowledge; we go at last from Glory to Glory,

(a) I *John* iii. 2.

into the perfect Image of God, till we come to the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ, and to the ineffable Union with God and his Son, *John* xvii. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

May God grant, that the Happiness we can conceive no Notion of here, may fall to be our Portion hereafter; and that contemning the Pleasures and false Glory of this present World, we may possess eternal Glory in Heaven, through our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

We must next treat of Hell; by which Christian Authors mean, the Place and State of the Damned, or of wicked Men and Devils. The *Latins*, by *inferiour Hell*, understand that State the *Greeks* call *ᾍδης*, the hidden, or invisible State; in which Sense it is always taken in the holy Scriptures; but Custom has generally given the Name of inferiour Hell to the Prison of miserable Men, departed this Life, and destined to Pain and Torment in the lower Regions; and according to this Notion I shall examine if there be a subterraneous Hell.

That there are many and great Cavities in the Earth, stored with Water, Fire, or Air, is, I think, beyond Doubt; but of these you will not find one answer to the Conditions and Requisites of Hell; a Place, in the holy Scriptures, said to consist of utter Darknefs and unquenchable Fire; the Place can by no means be dark and igneous at the same Time, unless the thick Clouds over-come the Lucidnefs of the Flame; from whence some have feigned *Ætnean* Furnaces, and ignivomous Apertures to vomit out the Flames. To this I can by no means agree, for this Hypothesis makes as many Hells as there are ignivomous Mountains over the World, which is absurd; or they make one continued

tinued Cavity running through the innermost Parts of the Earth, as the great *Abyss* was before the Deluge. But this will by no means agree with the modern Construction of the Earth; nor is there any Room for such a Vacuity there: For that Region must be either above or below the Bottom of the Ocean, if above, the Continents and Islands will make Breaks, Divisions, and Interruptions in the Place, and the flowing Currents cause watry Partitions in the infernal Regions; but if below, as at the Formation of the Earth, it could not be under the great *Abyss*, and if there was any Passage thereto, the Water would gush in and extinguish the Flames of Hell.

It is a commonly received Opinion, that there is a material Fire at the Center of the Earth; and this, they say, constitutes Hell. This Hypothesis has provided no pervious Passage. So remote from us, and so far below, the Wicked will have almost an inaccessible Place for their Torments, and vast solid Tracks of Earth to perforate in their Voyage; and how long, how tedious a Journey will it be? the Semi-diameter of our Earth is alone 3400 of our Miles, an impenetrable Distance alone; but where this deep Passage, and where begins the Road to the vast Cavern, is as yet unknown (*a*). The Devils have not this (*b*) narrow Place to dwell in; to them is allotted the large Prison of the Air, and the infernal Tyrant thereof is called (*c*) in the Scriptures, the Prince of the Air, there we are told he has his Throne at this Day, till it ends in the Prison of the *Abyss* in the millenary Reign of Christ (*d*).

(*a*) *Matt.* viii. 29.

(*b*) *Huet. Orig.* pag. 81. §. 23.

(*c*) *Eph.* ii. 2.

(*d*) *Rev.* xx. 2, 3.

The Words of the Apostle you may, perhaps, object, that the evil Angels were thrust into Hell, (a) and delivered into Chains of Darkness; and Christ is said to have descended εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς (b) into the lower Parts of the Earth; he is likewise, in both vulgar and sacred Style, said to have ascended into Heaven, and descended into Hell; which must therefore be a subterraneous Place. But these Arguments will not do; for by *Tartarus*, or Hell, the Antients always meant the inferiour World, and atmospherical Air about us; and therefore the Angels were cast from their pure æthereal Breathings, into the gross Fogs, investing our Globe: As to their being delivered into Chains, this is spoken after our Manner, who bind our Criminals in Chains to prevent their Escape: As to the Descent of Christ εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς this has no Relation to his Death (as is plain from parallel Places) but (c) to his Incarnation (d) when he left Heaven for our sakes, and honoured this Earth with his Presence, and it is called the lowermost Parts (e) in respect of Heaven, so that (f) the Comparison is here kept up with the Parts of the Earth, and of the World. Lastly, whereas the Dead are said to go *ad inferos vel infernum* to Hell שְׁאוֹל; this is the Grave where the Bodies of both the Good and Wicked, but especially the Wicked are said to be laid up in: To the Good and Evil we affect to ascribe different Places; to the first therefore we give Heaven, and a clear Air above our Heads, and the latter we crowd down into Darkness under our Feet; and a Prison under Ground seems much

(a) 2 Pet. ii. 4. (b) Eph. iv. 9, 10. (c) Psal. cxxxix. 15.
 (d) John iii. 13. (e) John viii. 23. (f) Acts ii. 19.

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more proper and natural, than a Confinement in the open Air: Truth will not bend nor yield to vulgar Humours and Fancies. We shall therefore proceed.

If there is no subterraneous Hell, is there a corporeal and local one before the Day of Judgement and the Conflagration of the World? or have they only mental Torments and Furies before that Day of the Lord? I am very much of the Opinion there are (a) no external Punishments before the Day of general Judgement. And if Souls are divested of all manner of Bodies till that Time, the Question is beyond Doubt, especially with those who expect an external Judgement, and a judicial Apparatus after the Manner of an human Consistory at the last Day, for naked and invisible Souls cannot be brought before any Tribunal, nor can they be condemned without a Hearing.

I know it is alledged there is a private and particular Judgement upon Souls before the great and general one, to begin immediately upon the Departure from the Body: If they mean by this, the private Judgement, or Condemnation of our selves, the Stings of our Conscience, and the Accumulations of our own Guilt, that see, pass Sentence, and punish according to the Greatness and Capacity of our own Crimes, *αὐτοκατακρίτοι*, I agree thereto; but no external or corporeal Punishment can take Place before the Resurrection. I know in the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, the Bodies of the Defunct are immediately carried,

(a) The Fathers have absolutely determined there is no local and corporeal Hell before the Day of Judgement. See *Maldonat* on *Luke* xvi.

the one to Torments and Flames, and the other into *Abraham's Bosom*; the same Parable makes *Dives* carry Tongue, Lips, and the Organs of Speech, nay, his whole Body into Hell: From whence it is plain, the Narration was not true κατὰ ῥῆσιν, but it was only a Fable, or figurative Delineation, adapted to the Fancies of the Hearers, to impress thereon a real Truth, that Souls remain after the Extinction of the Bodies to take their Fate of Good or Ill in another Life.

From whence it is plain to me, the Punishments of wicked Men, before the Day of Judgement, are internal, a Privation of Comfort, Pains of Mind, and a troubled Expectation of the great Day; therefore Hell is not opened, or lighted up before the Coming of Christ, when he shall descend from Heaven (a) *With his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them which know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.* This is the Time of that solemn Decree, when, after Judgement, both wicked Men and Devils shall be delivered up to their Pains, 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jud. ver. 6. We cannot imagine the Devils are now in fiery Torments wandring through the Air, and watchful over our Ruin; as therefore both wicked Men and Devils have the same Place of Punishment, and the same critical Moment of Condemnation, and the latter before the End of the World, and the Coming of Christ, are not allotted to their Places of Torment in Hell, as is plain from the sacred Scriptures and Commentators; (See *Gerrh. Tom. IX. de extrem. Judic. pag. 78. Maldonat. on Matt. viii. 29.* And it is really wonderful how universal the Consent of antient Authors,

(a) 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. Matt. xxv. 41. 2 Pet. iii. 7.

was, that Devils were not tortured before the Day of Judgement.) We must not therefore assign the first to that Place before, with any Consonancy or Agreement with the sacred Scriptures.

So much for Hell, and the State and Place of the Wicked before the Day of Judgement. But when that fatal Day shall come, and the Wicked be called from Death, and confined to the extrem Punishments of Hell, another Question arises, If those Punishments will last for ever, without End, or without determinate Bounds? Human Nature is terrified with the very Name of Eternal Punishments (a) that seem to carry insatiable Revenge, without Correction or Amendment. The Scripture, indeed, is on the other Side of the Question; our JESUS CHRIST, the tenderest Friend to human Nature, has expressly said, the Punishments of the Damned, and of Devils, shall be eternal, when he pronounces this Sentence upon the Wicked, *Depart from me, ye Cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, Matt. xxv. 41. To the same Purpose he says, *When the Wheat is brought into the Barn, the Chaff shall be burnt with unquenchable Fire*, Matt. iii. 12. and that in Hell; *The Worm dieth not, and the Fire is not quenched*, Mark ix. 44.

These Testimonies seem evidently to prove the Punishments of the Damned will be Eternal: In the same Manner the Prophets and Apostles speak, *Dan. xii. 2 Theff. i. 9*. In the mean time, Reason, the Nature of God, and the Nature of Things are on the other Side; they plead for a temperate Sentence, and to soften the Scriptures to save the

(a) Not terrified with the Guilt, but the Punishment only.
Rights

Rights of God and Man, and that Christianity may not receive an irrecoverable Wound.

We must adhere to the received Rules of Divines in Interpreting Scripture, not to recede from the Letter without Necessity; we must therefore consider, if the Eternity of Punishments is not opposed to the plainest and most invincible Arguments: In this Case we must be excused in departing from the common and most general Sense. The very Mind is struck with the Thoughts of Eternal Misery; and so many Arguments occur on the other Side, that, with many others, I cannot help being persuaded, that God cannot, and will not punish his Creatures with Eternal Misery and Pain, nor will Nature bear it. We conceive the God of the Christians to be a wise and good Deity, not cruel and hostile to human Nature; nor in his Worship has he instituted any Thing barbarous, cruel, or inhumane (*a*); he neither wounds nor rends the Flesh, nor, like *Moloch*, pulls tender Infants, from their Mother's Breasts into his burning Arms. Moreover the Captain and Head of our Christian Dispensation JESUS CHRIST, to whom the Father has delivered all Judgement, is φιλανθρωπιστάτης, a Lover of human Nature, and shed his own Blood to redeem us from Misery. The great King and Father, with this impartial Judge, moderates the Fate of human Kind; and yet you say, the holy Scriptures have made this Father, and this Judge, condemn the greatest Part of human Kind to Eternal Punishments.

As to the Number of the Damned, after this Life, I have very little to say, because it is to

(*a*) The Doctor has forgot his Burning Chapter.

me unknown; but it is certainly repugnant to the divine Wisdom, Goodness, and Justice to condemn his Creatures to Eternal Misery: To his Wisdom, because a lasting and immutable State of Misery is useless and vain; therefore foolish and ἀθεοπρεπής, unworthy of God: Indefinite and indeterminate Torments can serve neither God nor Man; what End can it answer to Man, if there is no Room for Repentance, and if his Punishment does not meliorate his Mind; if there is no Intermision of Pain, no Breathings to deliberate and consider upon some Change of Fortune? Let the Punishment be sharp, and even long, but let it have an End; for it bears no Fruit, and the unhappy Sinners would be equally extinguished as to any future Purpose of Amendment, if they were to be annihilated.

You will say, perhaps, the Punishment ought to keep an equal Pace with the Impiety; the Damned are incurable, and for ever persevere in their Malice: But this is said *gratis*; and not only so, but the Supposition is injurious to the Dignity of the Creator, and to the divine Wisdom and Goodness, to make and form human Nature in such a Manner as to degenerate into a State of incurable Pravity, and with that to be fixed in irrecoverable Misery (a): This State can be agreeable only to a *Manichean* god. But if the great and good God would make a Creature after this Manner, it must be certainly with this Condition, to annihilate it when he has done; for the Honour of Providence can be by no other Means preserved, than by Cutting off the Incurable from

(a) Knowing that no rational Creature with God perishes for ever, *Hieron. in Gal. c. 5.*

Existence, and not preserving what is worse than nothing. But by what Arguments can you persuade me, the Souls of wicked Men, after Death, are incurable? The Fathers believed the last Fire was *πῦρ καθάρσιον*, concerning which we have treated in the 7th Chapter (a). It does not seem congruous to the Power and Wisdom of God to oppress and extinguish with an invincible Disease; surely it cannot be so deeply rooted, but Fire will purge it out! a Remedy as searching as it is powerful and strong; even Grief will perform this, and a Sense of present Misery. Moreover in another Life, when the Wicked shall see Christ coming in his Glory, in the Clouds with his mighty Angels, in Triumph with his Enemies under his Feet, there will be no Room for their Infidelity; the *Fomes peccati* in this Flesh (b) will be extinguished; Concupiscence will be no more, and the Food for Vices, for unlawful Pleasures, Ambition, Avarice, and evil Affections will be taken away; why therefore, and with what Motives can they adhere for ever to their Sins, unless they are hardened by Heaven? But if they are driven by any external Force without the Freedom of Liberty, or of Reason, they cannot in that Case be called Men. But of this presently. Let us proceed.

We appeal to the divine Justice and Equity; whom God has made frail, he will not punish Eternally for falling, nor will he take from him the Power and Liberty of leaving his Vices, who has a natural Impotence in the Powers of his

(a) It has been answered in the Remarks upon the same Chapter.

(b) These are strong Marks of Conversion.

Mind, and an Inclination to Sin. You will say, perhaps, God does not take away the Power and Liberty, but the Will remains and persists immoveably in Ill. I Answer, according to your Hypothesis, God has made their Nature such; they cannot but be inflexible and irrecoverable when they depart this Life and go into Eternal Torments; if we grant once, the Unhappy may repent, why should we cast away all Hopes of receiving them to Grace? (a) But you say they cannot repent: What Proofs do you bring for the Impossibility of their Repentance? if they remain rational Creatures, with Understanding and Will, they may repent; if they have neither one or the other, they cannot but sin.

Others argue from the divine Justice in this Manner: That it is not just to punish the Errours of a short and sinful Life with Eternal Pains, when there can be no Proportion between the Punishment and the Crime: To this the common Answer is returned, that all Sin is infinite in its Guilt, as it is committed against an infinite God. This may, in some measure, be true; yet it is not the Proportion and Measure of the Actions of God towards his Creatures, and therefore can have no Place in any Account we give of his Dealings and Dispensations to Men; according to this Law, the lightest and most trivial Sin may be punished with Eternal Misery; Nay, and with the most weighty Pains, for the Proportion extends both to Weight and Measure; but if the least Sinners are loaded with all the Weight of Punishment, what shall be done farther to the greatest Sinners of

(a) This Man will take the greatest Profligates up into Heaven presently.

all? if the least Sin has the highest Degree, no Comparison can extend beyond the highest of all; this Reason therefore will confound all the Proportions of vindictive Justice, and render all Sins equal.

To proceed from the divine Justice to the Goodness of God; it is said the strictest Law is the highest Injury; I am sure it will not agree with Goodness and Mercy: For God, according to your Hypothesis, in inflicting his Punishments upon wicked Men, stretches the Law to its full Severity, and brings on the most exquisite and lasting Torments, which render the Punishment beyond Expression, heavy and intolerable. We have read of the Torments of the primitive Christians (a) in the first Ages of the Church; and what the *Sicilian* and other Tyrants have invented; but these are soft to the Torments of Hell, and softer likewise as they are less durable (b) and vehement; eternal Grief has all the Steps and Gradations of the extreamest Misery; were the Boilings of a Fever, the Rackings of the Stone, or the Torments of the Guts to endure only SEVEN Years, what Flesh and Blood could be equal thereto? But if instead of seven you put 1000 Years, who could endure even Life? or would buy it upon such Conditions? much less would accept it with Eternity.

You will say, perhaps, this is not the strictest Law, for God can reduce wicked Men into nothing, and that is the utmost Stretch of his Power and of his Law; I answer, Annihilation is the more preferable Wish; to have no Sense,

(a) A very pretty Comparison for this Purpose.

(b) He has forgot his Purging Fire.

no Feeling of Good and Evil, than to stay in perpetual and irremissible Torments; even the Light of Nature will persuade us into that State when we are weary of our selves; it is better to think nothing, than to be ever reflecting on Grief; the Wretch will say, even to God, in the Disorder of his Mind, I could wish not to be, and to perish, that I may not perish; this is the Voice of Nature, and to omit metaphysick Levities, I appeal to all Mankind, if it is not better to have no Life, no Thought, no Existence, than to groan under Eternal Torments and Flames; and if human Nature was not more averse to (a) Eternal Misery, than to Annihilation, surely God would have threatned the Wicked with the last, and not the first, to deter them from Sin. But to return.

If Annihilation is the highest Power of God over his Creatures (that he may not be the Author of more Hurt than Good); yet in this Case he seems to inflict something more bitter and severe, than the highest Extent of Law over his Criminals does require, and to go beyond this Mark must be Cruelty; and this Method, as we have before observed, of punishing eternally, has very little Agreement with the infinite Goodness, Benevolence, and Mercy of God; the Light of Nature, and the Scriptures, represent God to us, *Merciful, gracious, long Suffering, abundant in Goodness and Truth* (b), and even unwilling to punish, as a Work contrary to his Nature, *As having no Pleasure at all the Wicked should die, saith the Lord God* (c); if not a Temporal Death, much less is an Eternal one pleasing to him. From whence therefore could

(a) *Matt. xxvi. 24. Eccl. iv. 3.*

(b) *Exod. xxxiv. 6.*

(c) *Ezek. xviii. 23, 32.*

come this Eternal Death? to God it is hateful, and to the Creature intolerable, and profitable to none.

These Things being observed of the Nature of God, and his just Government of his Creatures, let us return to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Interpretation of those Places that seem to favour the Eternity of future Punishments. The Controversy chiefly turns upon the Word *αἰώνιος*, in *Hebrew* עולם or לעולם, rendered by the *Latins* Eternal. The Word *αἰώνιος*, or עולם, in the Scriptures has a dubious Sound, and does not always signify Eternal, but an indefinite and long Space of Time. The Statutes of the *Mosaic* Law are said to be Eternal, *Exod.* xxvii. 21. xxviii. 43. *Lev.* x. 15. xvi. 34. *Numb.* xviii. 11, &c. yet these Statutes (a) with the old Law have been long since obsolete. We must therefore either soften the Sense of the Words, or make the *Jewish* Law obligatory to this very Day. The Temple of *Jerusalem* was said to be an Habitation of God for Ever, *2 Chron.* vi. 2. though it has long since vanished, has not one Stone left upon another, or the least Mark of its ever having been the Habitation of God. The Kingdom of *David* was said to be Eternal (b) though the Kingdom passed from his Family, and is now at an End. See *Episc.* pag. 32. *Col.* 2. 6. *Sect.* 3. *2 Sam.* vii. 13. In the old Law, the Servant whose Ear was bored by his Master, was to serve for Ever, *Exod.* xxi. 6. and yet by that Law, all Servants were to be manumitted within half an Age. Moreover, before the *Mosaic* Law Circumcision was instituted

(a) Concerning the Passover, *Exod.* xii. 14.

(b) I thought the Throne of *David* was continued in Christ.

for Ever, *Gen.* xvii. 7. though the divine Authority has put an End thereto. The Land of *Canaan* was given to *Abraham*, and to his Posterity, for an Heritage for Ever, *Gen.* xiii. 15. xvii. 8. xlviii. 4. though his Posterity have been driven from the Possession thereof. Its plain from these and many other Places, Eternity is not meant always by the Word עולם or לעולם, to which αἰών or αἰώνιος relates in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament, where these Words must be taken in a more loose Sense. See *Philem.* 15. *Jud.* 7. *Rom.* xvi. 25. 2 *Tim.* i. 9. *Tit.* i. 2. (a). With the profane *Greeks*, Grammarians very well know, those Words have not always so strict a Sense: Nor is it of any Weight, that the same Word is applied to Rewards and Punishments; for the Eternal Happiness of the Saints contradicts no Attributes of God, and there we have no Reason to recede from the literal Sense, and Words must yield to Sense, otherwise, *This is my Body*, is as explicate as to say, *Go into eternal Fire*.

I say, from these Words nothing certainly can be inferred concerning the Eternity of Hell Torments. Moreover the Holy Scriptures have given us several figurative and metaphorical Touches (b) upon Hell, inconsistent with the Nature of Things to be literally true; Flames, Darkness, and extream Cold

(a) Our Author quotes here several Texts from the New Testament not to his Purpose; *Jud.* 7. is against him; for by *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* is meant the People of those Cities, who by that fearful Judgement, without Possibility of Repentance are exposed to the Vengeance of eternal Fire. *Rom.* xvi. 25. is not to his Purpose; for αἰώνιος being the Adjective joined to χρόνος is determined and limited thereby, and signifies there only Ages past.

(b) The same may be said of the rest.

do not combine well together; how can Worms live in Flames, or be immortal in their Generations? whereas in other Places they are said to die. The Bodies of the Damned, whatever they are, or at least if they are compounded and organical, cannot withstand the Power (a) of Eternal Flames without Dissolution; the Earth cannot remain for ever in the Form it is now in, or shall be after the Conflagration, and Hell must be in one or the other (b).

So far we have explained the Sense of the Words, and the Nature of Things: I shall beg Leave to add in the third Place; that our Lord JESUS CHRIST upon Earth, having taken upon him the Form of a Servant, and not of a Philosopher, spoke in the Language of the Sons of Men; and of the Jews, chiefly to whom he was sent. Learned Interpreters have made their Observations of this Nature upon the Words of Christ; he therefore follows the Phraseology of his own Nation, and Words most known to the People, or to their Chiefs, from the Law, Prophets, or Traditions, in his Instructions to promote Piety. When he speaks of Hell, he uses the Word *Gehenna*, and speaks of the different Degrees of Punishments (c) there in the Jewish Style, according to their common Sense. Mentioning infernal Punishments, *Mark ix. 44.* he uses the Words of the Prophet *Isaiah, Chap. lxvi. 24.* as it is in the *Septuagint*: Ο γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν ὃ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν ὃ σβεσθήσεται. *For their Worm shall not die, neither shall their Fire*

(a) He is still limiting the Power of God, though his Argument equally proves the Bodies of the Saints cannot last for Ever.

(b) He before denies Hell to be in the Bowels of the Earth.

(c) *Matt. v. 22, 29.*

be quenched. Authors have proved it was a common and familiar Phrase with the *Jews*, *That Fire and Worms should have the Wicked.* Christ made no Alteration in these Expressions, nor did he endeavour to take away the Notion of the People, when it was found necessary to restrain the Assurance of wicked Men.

These Things being duely weighed on each Side concerning the Punishments of Hell, let every one judge as his Conscience and his Reason guide him, let him interpret the Scriptures according to the Force and Strength of Reason: If the Wisdom and Justice of the Creator will not permit Eternal Punishments to endure, nor Eternal Impiety to reign, we must leave the Letter, and search for Reason, and not offer Violence to the divine Nature and Attributes: But if in this desperate and immutably wicked State, you find nothing contrary to the Nature of God, keep the literal Sense, close up your Ears, and harden your Heart to the Tears, Groans, and Shrieks of those miserable Creatures. If you will take my Opinion, rather call these Punishments indefinite, than infinite, we know not when their End will be, and we must leave it to the Wisdom and Mercy of God; that the Captives may be loosed from (a) Prison when they have paid the uttermost Farthing to Justice: But if this Opinion will not please, let it be left amongst the obscure ἀκατάληπτα and unrevealed. The Time will come (b) when this Opinion will be as absurd and ridiculous as Transubstantiation.

In these Days some fiery Divines will be pleased only with the Infinity of Hell Torments, and

(a) *Matt. v. 26.*

(b) The Time is almost at Hand, I fear.

will not bear an impartial Examination of this Question; but the Antients treated this Argument in a more soft and mild Manner. So *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* (a): *The Souls of good Men who seem worthy to God, die no more; but the Souls of the Injust are punished as long as they exist, and God will have them suffer.* *St. Jerome* was not of a different Opinion; for though generally he was warm, fierce, and impetuous, in this he shewed a never too much to be commended Moderation of Mind. In his Commentaries upon the aforesaid Place in *Isaiab*, Chap. lxvi. 24. he has these Words: (b) *They who will have these Punishments after many Ages to have an End, and the Torments to be finished, use these following Testimonies.* After having cited the Places which seem to favour that Opinion (c) he adds, (d) *All which they bring being desirous to allow after Torments and Miseries some Refreshments to come, which are now hid from those to whom Fear is necessary; that while they fear the Punishments, they may abstain from Sin; which we must leave alone to the Wisdom of God, whose Mercies and whose Punish-*

(a) Αἱ μὲν (τῶν εὐσεβῶν ψυχαί) ἀξίαι τῆ θεῷ φανεῖσαι, ἐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἔτι· αἱ δὲ (τῶν ἀδίκων) κολάζονται ἕως ἂν αὐταὶ καὶ εἶναι, καὶ κολαζέσθαι ὁ Θεὸς θέλη, pag. 223.

(b) Porro qui volunt supplicia aliquando finire, & licet post multa tempora, terminum habere tormenta, his utuntur testimoniis.

(c) See the 5th OEcumenick Synod against the Limitation of Hell Torments, in *Gerhard de Infern. Tom. ix. Huet. Orig. l. 2. c. 11. p. 138, &c.*

(d) Quæ omnia replicant, asseverare cupientes, post cruciatus & tormenta futura refrigeria: quæ nunc abscondenda sunt ab his quibus timor utilis est: ut dum supplicia reformidantur, peccare desistant; quod nos Dei solius debemus scientiæ derelinquere: cujus non solum misericordiæ, sed & tormenta, in pondere sunt; & novit, quem, quomodo, & quamdiu, debeat judicare.

ments

ments are in a Ballance, and he knows who, how, and how long to punish. So far Jerome. He says to the same Purpose in his Commentaries upon Chap. xxiv. at the End (a); We must know that human Frailty cannot penetrate the Judgements of God, nor conjecture concerning the Greatness and the Measure of his Punishments, which are left to the Will of the Lord. So far he. Origen I need not mention, whose Opinion is so well known; and he is followed by Gregory (b) Nazianzene, and (c) Nyssene. The other Fathers who would have the Flames of Hell to be πῦρ καθάρσιον a purging Fire, or κολασήριον, Carcerative, as I said before, supposed those Punishments would have an End. St. Augustine calls the Patrons of this Opinion not incongruously the mer-

(a) Sciendum quod judicium Dei non possit scire humana fragilitas, nec de poenarum magnitudine atque mensurâ ferre sententiam, quæ Domini arbitrio derelicta est.

(b) See Orat. 40. pag. 665. He mentions the eternal Pains of the Damned in a doubtful and uncertain Manner, εἰ μὴ τὸ φίλον καὶ λαῦθα νοεῖν τὸ το φιλανθρωπότερον, καὶ τὸ κολάζοντος εὐαξίως. If any one has a Mind to think more humbly, or more worthily of God, who inflicts the Punishment. He insinuates as though it was more consistent with Humanity, and the divine Nature likewise, to suppose these Punishments moderated. From this Place of Nazianzen, Nilus, the Disciple of Chrysostome and Martyr, concludes, That in those Days it was doubtful with the Fathers, and the Eternity of Hell Torments was no established Doctrine; for Nazianzene says, ἐφίησι τοῖς βελομένοις νοῆσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνο φιλανθρωπότερον, he leaves it to their own private Opinions who are willing to think more favourably of this Fire.

(c) See Chap. 8. Orat. Catechet. he says, they who are incurable in this Life, are to be cured in the next with bitter and sharp Remedies: And de Anima & Resur. pag. 229. he treats of the universal Purgation and Instauration. In the same Treatise he often speaks to that Purpose; as in his Treatise de Opif. Hominis, c. 21.

ciful

ciful Doctors, and treats them civilly enough, though he is sometimes puzzled to fix the Eternity of Hell Torments: *I have not said this to prevent a more nice Inquiry into the Punishments of the Wicked, and in what Manner in the holy Scriptures they are said to be eternal* (See Dr. Hammond in 2 Thess. i. 7. * * * * l. 7. from St. Augustine, Lib. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Tom. 4. upon Matt. v. 25. 26.) But let us now return to the Place concerning those merciful Men: (a) *Our Business is now with those merciful Men, and quietly to argue with them, who will not believe the Punishments of Hell are Eternally allotted to all, or to only some of those whom the most righteous Judge shall condemn to the Punishments of Hell, but in a certain Time, according to the Measure of their Iniquities, they shall be freed.*

Thus St. Augustine stated the Opinion of the merciful Men. Those on the opposite Side of the Question may be called the unmerciful Doctors, of whom one, for the rest, gives his Opinion of Hell in the following Manner: (b) *If all the Men born from Adam, to this present Day, or to be born from him,*

(a) Nunc cum Misericordibus nostris agendum esse video, & pacificè disputandum, qui vel omnibus illis hominibus, quos iustissimus Judex dignos Gehennæ supplicio judicabit, vel quibusdam eorum, nolunt credere poenam sempiternam futuram; sed post certi temporis metas, pro cujusque peccati quantitate, longioris vel brevioris, eos inde existimant liberandos.

(b) Si omnes homines nati ab Adam usque ad hodiernum diem, & amplius nascituri, viverent usque ad novissimum diem; & omnia gramina, quæ exorta unquam fuerunt, essent homines; ac si unam poenam, quam patitur anima pro uno peccato mortali in Inferno, ex æquo partirentur, ita ut daretur unicuique pars illius poenæ æqua: tunc particula quævis illius poenæ hominis unius major esset quàm omnia tormenta, quæ omnes sancti Martyres, & omnes Raptores & omnes Malefici unquam passi fuerunt.

should

94 *Of the STATE of the DEAD.*

should live to the last Day, and all the Spires of Grass that ever sprung out of the Ground were Men, and they were to share amongst themselves one Punishment for a mortal Sin in Hell; equally shared amongst them, every Particle of that Pain attached to each Man would surpass all the Torments of the holy Martyrs, and all that Thieves and Malefactors ever suffered put together. So far he. And if to these most bitter Pains you add Eternity, you fill up the compleat Measure of Inhumanity. We have no Notion how immense Eternity is, and therefore we are very liberal in bestowing Eternal Punishments to the unhappy Wretches. Eternity is an infinite and an inexhaustible Treasure of Time: (a) *Such is Eternity* (says a Divine) *that if a damned Person, in a thousand Years, were to squeeze one Tear from his Eye, it would afford Water enough, in Time, to drown the whole World.* To these Sayings of the Fathers, let us add another Argument of some Weight. What will become of Souls of a middle Condition, if there is no Purgation nor stated Punishment for them? By Souls of a middle Condition, I mean those who are not over pious, nor extreamly wicked; they constitute the greatest Part of Mankind; they have more of the Brute than the Devil, and yet have Sense enough not to be called perfectly mad. I say, what shall become of these Souls? We have before observed, human Kind are to be divided into three Parts, good, evil, and neutral; the Good are carried to Eternal Joys, the Evil to Eternal Torments; but

(a) *Tanta sunt æternitatis spatia, (inquit quidam Theologus) ut si damnatus aliquis millesimo quoque anno unam tantum ex oculis lacrymulam emitteret, plus aquæ efflueret, quam totus mundus capere possit.*

whither

whither shall the neutral Party go? they are neither adapted to Eternal Punishments, nor to Eternal Rewards. There must be some Degrees some Disparity in Retributions, according to the Merits of the Persons to whom the Retributions are made. Some will have the Souls of wicked Men exhausted by Torments, to give up their very Beings; according to *Arnobius*, (a) *The Souls that know not God, after long and tedious Torments, are consumed by Fire.* So say *Tatianus* and *Irenæus*. The πῦρ ἀσβεστον or inextinguishible Fire, (b) burns without Intermission, and lasts as long as the Flames thereof endures.

It is hard for us to put off all Humanity, and more hard to conceive God to put off all Mercy; and if Corruption can come upon us, it cannot affect the divine Being. They drowned the Cries of tender Infants in the Valley of *Hinnom*, from the Ears of the People, and of their Parents, in their sacrificing to their fiery Idol, and the Children perished in the Flames: But all the Thunder in the Skies cannot extinguish these Shrieks, nor intercept the Cries of the Unhappy from the Ears of *Jehovah*, the Father of Mercies.

Stay, thou unmerciful Doctor, and view the Spectacle, the Theatre of Providence thy self has made; see the greatest Part of Mankind broiling for ever in eternal Flames: A Scene equal and fit for Angels and for God to behold! While Heaven and Earth resound with their Shrieks and Cries. You have a divine Harmony in your self. It is a Grief to me to see so large a Share

(a) Animæ nescientes Deum perlongissimi temporis cruciatu consumuntur ignifero.

(b) See *Iren. l. 2. c. 64.*

of human Nature torn up and lost, cast away like Salt, without Savour, without Use, or future Hope.

Every Creature is frail in its Nature, even as the Wicked and the Damned are; and if a Fall is irrecoverable, the whole intellectual Creation is not only exposed to Vanity, but to Eternal Misery. This is not the Effect of divine Goodness, but the Sport of Cruelty, to form human Nature after this Manner: And what is the Fate of this World, may be the Fate of many more; for if the greatest Part of human Kind perish here Eternally, what Loss runs through the universal Cluster of Worlds about us? the Destroyed out-number the Saved: The Destroyed, I say, the very *Caput Mortuum* of the Universe, from whom no Good can be drawn. They are not only a dead Weight upon human Nature, but an intolerable Load even to themselves; they cannot bear nor shake off their own Existence, they curse the hated Light, their first Entrance into the World to see the Sun and Stars, their coming from nothing, and being torn from the sweet Slumbers of Silence, Sleep, and Non-existence. It repented God that he made Man, because of their Iniquities; and surely he will repent that he made unhappy Creatures cursed in their very Beings. If Absolute Reprobation is contrary to the Nature and Attributes of God (a); so are Eternal Punishments: On the other Side, they who are for these Decrees, must necessarily shake off the Weight of Eternal Punishments: The Eternal Decree for Eternal Misery is too much, *This is surely the Sting of Cruelty.*

So far as to Hell, and the future Punishments of the Wicked, with due Deference to the Ad-

(a) The Comparison is not very proper.

monition of the above-mentioned Fathers, in their treating upon this Subject: That whatever you think in your own Breast of these Eternal Punishments, the People, too easily prone to Vice, and as easily terrified from Evil (*a*) must have the commonly received Doctrine. Even with the Good there are Infants, and grown up Persons, that require Milk, or more solid Food (*b*) according to their Strength; we must have a due Regard to each, and not too rashly change their Diet, and bring Intemperance and Diseases upon them. Therefore if any shall translate what has been said by learned Men (*c*) upon this Subject, into the vulgar Language, they can have no good Scope or View thereby. We ought always to have before our Eyes the Progress of Providence, in illuminating and bringing the World to Perfection, and to bend all our Studies and Endeavours that Way; that what we have heard with our Ears, we may proclaim aloud. But the Minds of some must be gradually brought to bear the strong Rays of Truth; too much Light will offend their tender Eyes; some cannot bear the Objects directly, but take the Images in by the intermediate Reflection of a Glass. We shall see every Thing Face to Face, according to the Will and Pleasure of God, at the End of this World and more fully in the next.

(*a*) This looks very like Priestcraft.

(*b*) 1 Cor. iii. 2. Heb. v. 12, 13.

(*c*) Is there a more universal Language than *Latin*?

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The CONCLUSION.

WHEREAS the Variety of Matter, and the different Heads of Christian Doctrine in this Discourse, are out of the common Road and Light of Nature, they may have driven me beyond my Scope sometimes. I am a Man, a most inconsiderable one, and not above the Humanity in my Nature I confess. But he who is guided by the Sincerity of his Heart, without Fear or Partiality, in the simple and naked Search of Truth, has God for his Help and Assistance. God will open to those that knock, and give to those that seek the pure and pacifick Wisdom from Heaven. I hope it will not be made my Fault, if I have fallen upon many Things obscurely mentioned, and partially revealed in the sacred Scriptures; I speak with Regard to the Slendernefs of my own Genius and Capacity; and if any Person will bring more Light upon these Places, it shall be welcome to me. Our Unwillingness to confess our own Ignorance is a great Obstacle to Truth; we see the clear and obscure a-like, as though all Things were equally plain and evident.

The Commentators upon Scripture make you believe they understand every Thing; they do not complain of their own Ignorance or Want of Knowledge: Nor do the Schoolmen, or the Doctors ever stop at a Problem; and Truth is the Prey they never miss. I have often wondered at the Omniscience of these Divines; they think it inglorious and scandalous for Christian Doctors to have any Thing
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concealed from them in their own Way. This Ostentation blows them into Fame with their Followers, but with wise Men their Judgement is called in Question; for they who pass their Judgement upon remote Objects, in the same Manner as upon those placed in a nearer Light, see neither one or the other clearly.

Providence is pleased to open his Mysteries to us by Halves, in an imperfect Light, that by even slight Notices being excited, we may learn from the Bounds of this present Dispensation, the Perfection of that to come. If ten Men, ingenious in their Way, were to write together concerning a future State, I do not believe two of those ten would unite through every Head in the same Opinion: If therefore in some, or in all, the friendly Reader and my self part Opinions, I can neither wonder, nor be angry: *Thebes* is as far from *Athens*, as *Athens* from *Thebes*, and we keep the same Distance from each other. Who comes nearest the Truth is the only Question. When *Elias* comes he will tell many, and when *Christ* comes he will tell all Things: If confuting me will afford Light to the World, I have my Wishes, for Truth is my only Scope and Aim.

In the mean time let Us faithfully retain the Form of sound Words and Doctrine; the Immortality of the Soul; the Resurrection of the Dead; Rewards and Punishments in a future Life, according to the Works and Dispositions of our own Minds; Lastly, the Conflagration and Renovation of the World, and that *Christ* will come and reign over it. These Heads, that regard so nearly a future Life, are to be inviolably preserved: But concerning the Circumstances and Manner of

a future (a) State, common Indulgence and Help to those that seek is best; what God has not plainly and clearly revealed, concerning this State, we ought not too fiercely to contend about; for they who upon these Accounts tear each other, and burn with Anger, fall into most certain and flagrant Crimes. Let us fly from those Evils the prevailing Reproaches of Christianity. Let us desist from acting like Fools and Madmen; let every one support his own Opinion with all the Arguments he can bring from Reason, without offensive Blows to his Adversary, that give no Force nor Strength to Truth. (See 1 Cor. iii. 3, 6. Gal. v. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 1.) Reproaches are the certain Attendants of a failing and a sinking Cause. As many as are perfect, or Lovers of Truth, think thus, if any think otherwise, God will reveal it to them.

(a) Concerning this Judgement (*i. e.* the last one) these Things we have learned will come to pass; *Elias* the *Thisbite*, the Conversion of the *Jews*, the Persecutions of Anti-Christ, that Christ shall come to Judgement, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Separation of the Good and Evil, the Conflagration of the World, and the Renovation thereof; all which we believe will come to pass; but in what Manner the Experience of the Thing will better shew, than any present Knowledge can bring to bear, *Lact. Frag. de extr. Judic. Aug. de Civ. Dei, Lib. 20. Cap. 30.*

R E-

R E M A R K S.

HEAVEN has been always a Subject of Ridicule, to those who never design to come there. The earthly Jew has his Paradise only in the Treasures of *Lombard-Street*, or the Banks of *Venice* and *Amsterdam*. The Deist, by his natural Reason, can find no such Place; and they whose Lives and Conversation can afford no comfortable Prospect of ever coming there, think it conducive to their Quiet to form their rational Attacks against it. I shall just lay down before the Reader, all the Notions in the Scripture of Heaven, and form my Conclusions therefrom.

In several Places of the Scripture, by Heaven is meant the natural Situation of all the Bodies that act in proper Spheres independantly of our Earth, and the Firmament of the Heaven was the whole Space in which these Bodies were included, as it is said, *Gen. i. 16, 17. He made the Stars also. And God set them in the Firmament of the Heaven.*

By Heaven is sometimes meant, the Atmosphere about our Earth, as it is said, *Gen. vii. 11, 12. And the Windows of Heaven were opened, and the Rain was upon the Earth forty Days and forty Nights. Gen. viii. 2. The Windows of Heaven were stopped, and the Rain from Heaven was restrained. Gen. xxvii. 27, 28. Therefore God give thee of the Dew of Heaven.*

Sometimes it is taken for the Place of God's more peculiar Residence, in many Places of the Scripture, in a poetical, and in many others, in a moral Sense, and in many other Senses which I shall here lay down.

He is said to be in Heaven in a moral Sense, when the Effects of his Power, and other Attributes, are ascribed to that Place; as, *Gen. xix. 24. Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from the Lord out of Heaven. Deut. xxxiii. 26. There is none like unto the God of Jesurun, who rideth upon the Heaven in thy Help, and in his Excellency on the Sky. And I Sam. ii. 10. The Adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to Pieces, out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them. See Nebuchadnezzar's Confession, Dan. iv. 35. He doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven. He is supposed to send his Messages to Earth from Heaven, and to perform all the Parts of a Governour and King from that Place, as it is said, *Deut. iv. 36. Out of Heaven he made thee to hear his Voice. And David says, Psal. xx. 6. Now know I, that the Lord saveth his Anointed;**

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he will hear him from his holy Heaven. And it is said, *Luke i. 26. The Angel Gabriel was sent from God. And with the Angels that appeared to the Shepherds, there was a Multitude of the heavenly Host praising God, Luke ii. 13.*

Notwithstanding all this, his Ubiquity is metaphysically laid down in *Jeremiah*; *Can any hide himself in secret Places that I shall not see him, saith the Lord? do not I fill Heaven and Earth, saith the Lord? xxiii. 24.*

He is expressly said, in the Scriptures, to dwell in Heaven; and *Solomon* invoking that great Being, says, *Hear thou in Heaven thy dwelling Place, 1 Kings viii. 30.*

So far as to Heaven as it relates to God; we must next examine how far it relates to us below.

We have frequent Mention in the Scripture, of the Angels of Heaven; whether they are only created Spirits, or have been cloathed with Flesh and Blood, and divested thereof again, is a Question not yet determined; the Angel *Gabriel*, in *Daniel*, was called the Man *Gabriel*; and though, generally speaking, *Hades* may be the Residence of departed Souls, God may take from thence whom he pleases, and exalt them to Heaven, and to the beatifick Vision, before the Day of Judgement. This we know from the Scriptures; the Residence of Angels is said to be in Heaven, in which God is made to dwell, and from whence all his Power is said to come; therefore *John* the Baptist said, *A Man can receive nothing, except it be given him from Heaven, John iii. 27.* to Heaven therefore are ascribed all the Powers and Qualifications given to Men to make them virtuous or good; and wherever in Scripture there is any Operation of the Trinity; it comes from Heaven; all Revelations of the Will of God towards us, are said to come from that Place, as *St. Paul* says, *For the Wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all Ungodliness and Unrighteousness of Men, who hold the Truth in Unrighteousness, Rom. i. 18.* From Heaven for our good Actions we are to expect our Reward, and for our Sufferings, our blessed Saviour, *Matt. v. 12.* has assured us, our Reward shall be in Heaven, not from Heaven; therefore in Heaven the Consummation of Reward is to be: Part of our Reward we have in this World, in the Satisfaction of suffering well, more in *Hades* and a peaceful Grave, and our Completion therefore shall be in Heaven.

Our Names are written in Heaven before we come there; as our blessed Saviour bid his Disciples rejoice, *Because their Names were written in Heaven, Luke x. 20.* that is, they are numbered with the Blessed. Good Men are mentioned by the
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holy Angels in their Songs of Praise. As the primitive Christians commemorated those who departed in the Faith and Fear of God, so the Angels commemorate and rejoice over those who live in this Life in the Fear of God. To this answers *Luke xv. 9.* The Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth. From whence it is plain, the Angels know our State and Condition below: So augmented are their Understandings by the beatifick Vision, while ours can extend no farther than the Windows of our Senses. The Apostle says, *Phil. iii. 20.* *Our Conversation is in Heaven, from thence we are to expect our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST;* and therefore our Affections and Passions must be only upon our Consummation of Bliss there.

From what has been said, I conclude Heaven must be Local; for though God extends every where, by Virtue of his Omnipresence, there is a particular Resort to him, or at least will be at the great Day of the Spirits of the Just made perfect. By Locality, I mean, Commensurability to Space: It may, at the first View, seem absurd, that immaterial Beings can be commensurable to Space; yet greater Absurdities will flow from the contrary Hypothesis: By the first Proposition in the first Part, whatever is commensurable to any Space, is proportionally commensurable to a lesser Quantity of that Space, and is consequently numerically commensurable in Infinity, or in other Terms, numerically devisible, in infinitum.

But if Spirits are not limited by a certain Space, they are infinitely extended; if limited they are commensurable, and consequently they are subject to Locality. Further I will not go with immaterial Beings for want of Idea's, though I am equally puzzled to know what Substance is, and my Ignorance is no Conclusion against the Truth of Things.

If Spirits are subject to Locality, it is not hard to conceive that Heaven should be local, where those Spirits are to be; and though God himself is not confined as to his Being, he may act locally; send his Angels from his Heaven, his Wonders and his Signs, and even the Graces of the Holy Spirit may come from thence; he may there vouchsafe the beatifick Vision to his Saints, and open to them the Glories of his Being; and as we cannot comprehend his Omnipresence, we can define him only by his Actions, and where we find him more particularly to act, we conclude him more peculiarly to be.

Heaven, therefore, is the Place where his Army of unbodied Spirits, in their supream Glory, are placed, from whence his Commands and Decrees come forth, and his Mercies are poured

down; where he reigns as a King, governs as a Father, and guides as a Shepherd: To that Place the Spirits of all just Men made perfect will come; they will be let into vast Treasures of Knowledge and inconceivable Joys.

To fix this Place is a ridiculous Attempt; whether it is beyond the Stars, or in the Midst of them, we have no Light from divine Revelation. The Doctor has, indeed, made a very fantastical Scene, for Fancy was his peculiar Talent, though it was far from a Theological one. He in the first Place supposes organical Eyes, of so curious a Texture, as to take in the most remote Objects, in the same Manner as though they were near, and likewise so contrived, as to take in the large Compass of the Universe at one View. I cannot but own this must be a very glorious Sight, to behold so many Balls of Fire and dancing Earths, beautifully variegated with Steeples, Towns, Woods, Groves, and Rivers whirling round those Suns; thus far, indeed, the Eye will be well entertained; though, in my Opinion, it is an extravagant Concession, to us Mortals, at one View to see the whole Universe, when we shall have put on Immortality, and be cloathed with our new Bodies.

The Doctor is mightily diverted with Rainbows, and the various Refractions of Light; he is very fond of Colours, and all manner of dazzling Objects; though, in my Opinion, the greatest Pleasure flowing from that Prospect, would be Reflections upon the Immensity of the Power, the Greatness of the Wisdom, and the Sweetness of the Providence of God; for here we have a very imperfect View of the Extent of the Universe, the Fancy has Room to go further than the Eye can reach.

As to the internal Happiness of Heaven, we may as well outstrip the Truth, as fall below it; as he makes the Eye to take in all the exterior Ambit of the Universe, so he enlarges the Understanding to comprehend all the inward Workings of Providence upon Matter; a Knowledge so extensive and intuitive is no where promised in the Scripture. The Measure of the beatifick Vision has been too accurately defined by our curious Men: The Scripture has told us, we shall see God, our blessed Saviour says, *Matt. v. 8. Blessed are the pure in Heart, for they shall see God.* St. Paul has told us, *1 Cor. xiii. 12. For now we see through a Glass darkly, but then Face to Face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I also am known.* St. John is more express, *Beloved, now are we Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.* This is a very modest

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modest Account of even an inspired Apostle, concerning the beatifick Vision, and far below the Doctor's Mark, who is as punctual in all the Gradations of that Vision, as though himself had been there already.

He has no Proofs from Scripture for his Mundane Idea, or an intuitive View into the whole Mundane System at once. This is, indeed, an Enlargement of the Understanding, by borrowing the Attributes of God. That our Understanding may be improved I can grant, but not to such a Degree; we ought to hold to the modest Account given by St. *John*, that it doth not yet appear what we shall be.

Some certain Measure of the Happiness of Heaven we may conjecture at, and we may form a Notion of it from the Passions in our selves; solid Joy, Satisfaction, proceeding from an unclouded Imagination, will be our Portion then; but the Joys of corrupt Affections will not be ours, they are too muddy and too impure for a State of Eternity and Innocence.

I shall attend the Doctor next to his Discoveries of HELL. The lowermost Hell, in the Scripture, is, I suppose, opposed to the Heaven of Heavens, and the Prince of Hell has his Throne there; it occurs in *Deut.* xxxii. 22. *Psal.* lxxxvi. 13. Where this lowest Hell is I shall not positively determine; but as the Doctor places Heaven beyond all the Planets in the pure æthereal Regions of Light and Glory, I shall place Hell beyond those Regions and the Sphere of Illumination, in the dark Realms of uncultivated Space: The Bowels of our Earth are too narrow, moreover we know not how far the subterraneous Passages and Rivers go, and it can serve only for a Prison for our World, and we send Crouds to clog it up every Year.

But my Scheme will easily account for the Darknes and the Fires at the same Time; for the Bounds thereof are outer Darknes, *σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον*, *Matt.* viii. 12. as it may very properly be called beyond the Bounds of Light, and the Comforts of God. This Place of Darknes is hinted at in *Job* xxxviii. 19, 20. *Where is the Way where Light dwelleth? and as for Darknes, where is the Place thereof? that thou shouldest take it to the Bounds thereof, and that thou shouldest know the Place to the House thereof.* Of this Darknes our blessed Saviour warns the *Jews*; yet a little while the Light is with you, watch while ye have the Light, lest Darknes come upon you; for he that walketh in Darknes, knoweth not whither he goeth, *John* xii. 25. It is called, 2 *Pet.* ii. 17. *ζοφὸς τῆ σκοτίας*, the Mist of Darknes, and by *Jude* xiii. the same. Thus far the Scripture seems
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to favour my Notion of the Situation of Hell; what farther Light it gives I shall declare.

When the Scripture expressees any great Sorrow, it uses the Comparison of Hell; *The Sorrows of Hell compassed me about*, 2 Sam. xxii. 6. and *Psal. cxvi. 3. The Pains of Hell got hold upon me*. These Texts are moreover a very evident Proof, that the *Jews* had a Notion of a future State; for how otherwise could they come by any Notion of the Pains of Hell? what Pains could they be, except the Pains inflicted upon wicked Persons after this Life? they never imagined Hell was a Place of Torment on this Side the Grave.

Hell and Destruction, in the old Testament, are frequently joined together; in *Job xxvi. 6. Hell is naked before him, and Destruction hath no Covering*. See *Psal. lv. 15. Prov. v. 5. vii. 27. ix. 18. xv. 11. xxiii. 14. xxvii. 20. Isa. v. 14. xiv. 9, 15*. Its plain they did not mean by Hell, the Grave, because there are no Pains there; as *Job* says, *Chap. iii. 13. For now should I have been still, and been quiet, I should have slept, then had I been at rest*.

I conclude, Hell is a Place of Sorrow and Destruction, invested with primeval and utter Darknefs; and farther concerning the Place we cannot go.

I confess, I cannot prove from the old Testament, that Hell is meant to be the Place of the Damned, and of Devils; because from the Old Testament, it may be no more than the preparative *Hades* of the Wicked. The Devil is certainly not confined there, and will not be confined till the Day of Judgement; and therefore the evil Spirits expostulated with Christ, why he would torment them before their Time.

Hell is more expressly mentioned, with all its Train of Horrors, in the New Testament; there it is called outer Darknefs, and where it is ever hinted at in either, it is prophetical, so we let this Matter rest, and come to the Eternity of Hell Torments: A Question of so nice a Nature, it is Heresy even to determine upon it as he has done, even though there were a latent Decree of God's to abbreviate their Pains.

The Doctor, who would be called the Merciful, in the second Part of his Book, has brought in a most dismal Scene of Cruelty; he has roasted all the primitive Confessors and Martyrs in material Flames, not excepting even the *Virgin Mary*, and yet exclaims against the *Molochian* Divines, and we shall find his Scheme of Mercy is big with several monstrous Heresies, as will appear.

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He owns, the Scripture is literally and expressly for Eternal Punishments: There is not one Text of Scripture that hints towards the shortning the Punishment of the Wicked.

By what Rule then shall we soften the Scripture? what a Latitude must we take, not only as to setting Souls free without any Commission from God, but likewise disposing of them afterwards according to our own Will and Pleasure?

He says, the literal Sense of Scripture must be receded from, if Necessity requires it; but if we reced from the literal Sense of Scripture, and leave no Sense at all, what Faith, what Religion shall we establish that Way? The Scripture has expressly condemned the Damned to what they call Eternal Misery; the Terms and Measures of Repentance, in the Scriptures, preclude them from any known Terms of Salvation, and their State from any Capacity thereof; and Annihilation is an arbitrary Sentence, without any Foundation from Revelation, or the known Will of God.

If we come with Human Reason to bear down divine Revelation, we make clear Work for the Deists. The Satisfaction of Christ is beyond Human Reason to apprehend; there are some hidden Laws of Justice, beyond the Reach of that Reason; Laws, that have one only Rule the Rectitude of the divine Nature.

I believe, for the most part, the Pains of Hell have been heated too hot; I am for taking away superstitious Terrours, it is enough to be condemned to a Place for Eternity not to be happy; it is sufficient to strike any Soul, that can be moved with Terrours, from Sin: Mitigate the Sorrows of Hell as you please, they are bad enough with this Consideration, that they are Eternal.

Cruelty is an unmeasurable Extent of Power, or of Law; Power, without Law, is Tyranny and Injustice; the extreamest Exercise of Law, in Cases of a dispensable Nature, is Cruelty likewise: but where the Law is not to be dispensed with, the Punishment is no Cruelty, but necessary Justice.

The Doctor says, Eternal Punishments bring no Fruit with them; and therefore they are unworthy of God; that to place Men in a State without Possibility of Repentance, or of Change, is making so many miserable Monuments of unnecessary Severity.

I answer, the Scripture no-where tells us of any Fruit to be expected from the Excommunicated and the Damned; it speaks of no Grafting after Excision, and it will soon appear there can be none, *Matt. iii. 12.* they are called *Chaff to be burnt with unquenchable*

quenchable Fire; and Chaff we very well know bears no Fruit: therefore the Word Excision, or being cut off, is frequently applied to the Wicked, ἐκκοπήση, *Rom. ii. 22. Thou shalt be cut off*, from Κοπήω to cut down, as a Branch is cut off from a Tree, and cast away from all Intercourse with the Sap for ever. The Wicked are no Objects of Hope, nor of Re-flourishing; the Punishment inflicted upon them is not exemplary, but a Punishment of Congruity, to pay a just and righteous Satisfaction to God for Crimes that plead for Vengeance.

Yet the Doctor bestows no congruous Punishment upon them; as far as I can judge, he makes them fructifying Members, punished only to be reduced and brought back by Repentance to eternal Happiness. I shall only observe from hence the Absurdity of any Improvement in Grace on the left Side of *Hades*; their State gives them a thorough Conviction of the Justice and Power of God, when they find he can come at their Souls without the Mediation of their Bodies; they may very well be convinced there is no flying from his Presence, but what Sort of Conviction is this? what we feel and see we must believe to be true.

It is certain, God could govern this World in such a Manner, as that not one Man should dare to be a Sinner therein; strong Convictions will make even Tyrants tremble: But this touches only the Weakness of Men, their Passion for Self-preservation, and their Fears; but the nobler Parts are not moved by such strong Operations; was *Hades* only parted from this World by a Grate, and we could see the Damned through, gnashing their Teeth in the Bitterness of their Pangs; this would awe a presumptuous World into Fear, but not lead them by Love; the Converts only to Fear, are no Candidates for immortal Happiness.

Men sin in this World with a presumptuous Doubting of a future State, and seem willing to hide their Crimes behind Annihilation; but this cannot be a Comfort to those who live in that separate one, and see into all the Reasons of Good and Evil; ours is Faith, theirs is Experience; ours is Hope, and theirs Certainty.

If you suppose the Wicked in a State of Repentance and Melioration on the other Side the Grave, they are in a State of Comfort; you take away Despair, which by all the Fathers of the Church was always held to be the unalienable Portion of the Wicked. How beautifully does *St. Paul* describe his Sufferings in this World? *2 Cor. iv. 8. We are troubled on every Side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in Despair. There is a Comfort*

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Comfort even in being troubled for our Sins, if that Trouble brings a Prospect of Pardon and Peace; if the Damned have a Prospect of the Joys of Heaven, it is an inexpressible Comfort, even in the gloomy Horrors of Hell.

Let me add: It is common with imbodied Spirits, and with Flesh and Blood, to love themselves, and to fly from Pain; in this World the Wicked are in the Pursuit of Happiness, they take in with the nearest Objects thereof they can find; but the Good have in their View, Objects more remote, that depend upon Faith and the Promises of God.

In the other World, when the Wicked see the Promises to the Good draw near to their Perfection, and their own sensual Happiness past, and that all their Hopes ripened and gathered from the Trees, are consumed and are no more, they want no Repentance, no vehement Desire after eternal Happiness, no Grief, nor Wrings and Tortures of Reflection, but this is their Misery and their Curse; such Repentance, like the Apples of Sodom, is only Dust and Ashes; there is no more Merit in their Knowledge and Sense of their Crimes, than there would be in actual feeling the singeing Flames of Hell; they have Time enough for bitter Reflection to wish themselves not there, and to envy the Happiness of the Saints above.

Knowledge does not always bring forth the Fruits of Repentance, I mean, that saving Repentance that qualifies a Soul for Happiness in Heaven: a Rogue frightened at the Gallows, may be sorry for what he has done, and yet may be a Rogue still: None will offend against God when they see him in the Fullness of his Glory, with the vindictive Instruments of Justice in his Hands: he is contemned in this World, when he is covered from our Eyes, known only by Reflection and Consequences, and from thence the Fool is encouraged to say in his Heart there is no God.

God does not govern the World with a tyrannical Exercise of Power, but by his Goodness he draws Men over to him by all the generous Motives of Gratitude, Affection, Esteem; and those whom these Means will not take in, are reserved to a solemn Trial, and consigned over to Eternal Misery; so that Heaven is filled only with great and virtuous Souls, whose Dispositions are inwardly good, and never takes in afterwards, the inwardly base. Sufferings may burn, but cannot purge such Men: let them continue in the Flames ever so long, even thousands of Years, they will come out as wicked as they went in, however sorrowful they may be for their unsuccessful Impiety; nay, though their Crimes reproach their
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Consciences every Moment, and they are truly sick of their Sins, no vivifying Repentance is struck out of this State.

You may, perhaps ask what Repentance is on this Side the Grave; I shall give as short and rational an Account thereof as I can, without any Regard to your hypothetical and technical Schemes.

As you see a mighty River carry every Thing down its Stream, so is the Mind of Man; when his Passions unite in one common Stream, and carry down Reason, Temperance, Sobriety, and Justice, in this Case the Faculties of the Understanding meet a Check, and may be even overpowered for a Time.

When those Passions cool, when a serious and a good Thought can break in, and more unite their Streams, and stem the Tide of their Passions, Repentance follows in Course: Such is the Nature of Mankind, some are in their own Natures reclaimable, if Reason can take place; others are not stirred by the same Motives, and God's Goodness towards them, only aggravates their Crimes.

I divide Mankind into two Parts, naturally good, and naturally bad; the latter can never be fit for Heaven, Millions of Ages will not qualify them for the blessed Seats of eternal Paradise.

The naturally good only are capable of Repentance; as the Prophet says, *Can the Æthiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots? then may ye also do Good that are accustomed to do Evil,* Jer. xiii. 22.

But very often a good Disposition is carried away by the Unhappiness of Education, by an odd Turn of Thinking, and ill Habits, to Sin; and Repentance very often brings such Men back to a Sense of God, and of Religion.

The Criterion, by which I judge of all Dispositions, is Gratitude; for if a Man will not pay Thanks, warm Sentiments of Love to his Benefactors, he has neither the Sense of Justice nor Compassion upon his Soul; that Man can live in a continual Act of Rebellion against his Father and his God; but that Wretch is incapable of saving Mercy from him; no Time can blot out his Crimes, nor make him just and good.

St. *Jerome* seems willing to allow some Clemency for the first; but to Atheists and Devils, who say in their Heart there is no God, he assigns Eternal and Never-ending Torments, in his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, Chap. lxvi. at the End.

David, heated by the Flames of Lust, committed a double Wickedness his Soul abhorred; how feelingly he speaks when he comes to a Sense of his Crimes, *Against thee only have I sinned,*

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sinners, and done this Evil in thy Sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear when thou judgest, Psal. li. 4. The Affections of such Men, when they come to Repentance, are more warm; for Guilt stirs up every Sentiment, awakens the Fancy, and creates dreadful Images of Detestation in the Mind; the Loss of Paradise could not more affect our first Parents, than the Loss of Innocence affects a penitent Sinner.

I conclude, the wicked Man in Hell bewails only the Consequences fatal to his own Ease and Quiet; he has no Taste of that Paradise; his Thoughts are muddled, troubled, and confused; he is taken in his own Snare, and roars like a Lyon for Indignation in his Torments; but he is not touched with tender Sentiments of Remorse for offending his God, with a Sense of the Immorality, but of the unfortunate Issue of his Crimes.

These are the Incurables: It may be asked, why does God create and put Men into such a State? This Objection the Doctor makes.

I answer, God gives every Man the Faculties of the Mind and his assisting Grace; but if he was to fix the Will, Man could call no Action his own; he could be neither good nor wicked, virtuous or impious: then, indeed, God might be brought in as a *Manichean* one, to punish with Eternal Misery mechanical Agents. This leads us by Degrees into the calvinistical Notion, than which a more injurious one cannot be to the Honour of God.

If God was to form the Mind of Man as a Potter forms his Clay, his Subjects in Heaven would be a Set of very fortunate Beings; but what would their good Fortune, or their Felicity, add to the miserable Side of the Question, who owe their Misery to Tyranny, as the others owe theirs to Partiality? This extinguishes all the Virtues of Christianity, all the bright Effects of Reason, and every Thing that gives Religion its true and natural Beauties.

It is therefore much out of the Way, to ask why God makes them incurable; for by the same Reason, why does God make them wicked, and permit any of his Creatures to go to Hell? Why does he create them with a Capacity and an Inclination to be wicked? Which is as much as to say, why does he not create all Mankind Machines, make them perform only good Actions, not by themselves, but through him. This would make the whole Creation a childish Play; for I might ask by the same Reason, why he did not make Mankind like Nine-pins, or without Consciousness, like *Des Cartes's* Brutes? For incurable Wickedness is only a larger Portion of what every Man has in his
own

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own Power; for if he can make himself wicked, and has Freedom of Will, he may make himself incurably so.

But though he may be incurable in another World, he cannot be said properly to be so in this; his Freedom of Will may afford him a Possibility here; there can be none there, for these Reasons: *First*, We are put into this World, and clothed with Flesh and Blood, and our Conversation is only with material Beings, exclusive of all immaterial Substances, untripped and independant of all Matter, our Senses let in only Objects of that last, and we have not so much as an Idea of another State, and no Knowledge thereof but what comes from rational Consequences, and revealed Promises, by a firm Adherence to the first, and our Confidence in the last, we build in our selves an Assurance of another World.

This is that great Merit so often mentioned in the Scriptures, called Faith: Credulity is a Weakness, and Faith a meritorious Vertue; Faith has many Objects, but I speak now thereof as applied to a future State; and when Faith is well grounded, and supported by undoubted Testimony, that the Points to be believed come from God; to deny Assent to the same, is giving him the Lye; and therefore Christ upbraided his Disciples, at his Resurrection, for desparing so soon of the Promises made; *O Fools, and slow of Heart, to believe all that the Prophets have spoken*, Luke xxiv. 25. And our blessed Saviour, to persuade the *Jews* to believe, appeals to his Works, *Though ye believe not Me, believe the Works*, John x. 38. Its an admirable and clear Definition of Faith given in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Chap. xi. 1. *Now Faith is the Substance of Things hoped for, the Evidence of Things not seen.*

It follows, therefore, that Faith cannot belong to the Damned, and the Merit thereof they can never possibly arrive at; they see so evidently in their Torments, and feel the Comforts they have lost; it is all Demonstration to them, and the bitterest Proof that can fall to the Share of unhappy Creatures.

Secondly, They are cut off from the Communion of the Church of Christ, they are not Christ's; and this Distinction is made by St. Paul; at the Resurrection every Man shall be made alive in their own Order; *Christ the first Fruits, after they that are Christ's*, 1 Cor. xv. 23. If they cannot plead the Merits and Satisfaction of Christ, they cannot be saved; for Sins of Ignorance are too late to plead in that Place; they can have no Absolution nor Restitution to the Church again: They are called, Matt. xxv. 41. *Κατηραμένους*, cursed; from *καταράσθαι*, *devoveo*, being devoted to an execrable Fate: Whereas, if they were only put into

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into Hell for some Time, to qualify them for Repentance, and for Heaven, they would more properly be called ἀπορισμένοι, separated, a much milder Word, and in that Case more adapted to their Fate; but on the contrary it is said, 2 Thess. i. 9. *Who shall be punished with Everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.* In this Text the Word Everlasting cannot be taken in a limited Sense; in several Places of Scripture I grant it relates only to the End of a certain Period of Time; but to put it before an indefinite and uncertain Period, would make the Scripture speak perfect Nonsense and Contradiction; and we need no stronger Text than this to prove the Everlasting Excommunication of the Wicked.

Therefore, even in the Testimonies we have of Prayers for the Dead, the Damned are excluded; a very uncharitable Method to take with them who are to be our Companions at last.

Let me add, we are ordered to pray for wicked Men upon Earth; and if the State of the Damned was capable of Melioration, Repentance, and Eternal Happiness at the last; Prayers for Dead would become an indispensable Duty: But the Damned are intirely left out of the Prayers of the Church, who in that Case would want them most. In St. James's Liturgy, quoted by the Doctor himself, *Remember, O Lord, the Spirits of all Men whom we remember, and do not remember; all the Faithful from Abel the First to this present Day, that they may rest in the Land of the Living in thy Kingdom in Paradise, in the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy Fathers, &c.* all the rest run in the same Way; the Prayers were offered up only for those in Abraham's Bosom with Lazarus.

From hence I conclude, the rest were looked upon as worse than separated, being cursed and deprived of the Prayers of the Faithful.

Thirdly, They have no Promises for their Comfort in the holy Scriptures; and therefore, though they know God is just, their Despair prevents their loving him.

I conclude; they who in their Lives, when fed and nourished by the Goodness of God, could live in open Rebellion against him, when they feel the Punishment of their Crimes, will not be better: They render themselves incurable, it being a Consequence of their Wickedness; they depart in the State they lived, and if they cast away the Offers of Grace in this Life, there is no Promise of a Return thereof in the World to come. The Apostle says, *For by Grace are ye saved, through Faith,* Eph. ii. 8. I have before proved, Faith is extinguished after Death, because it is no longer the Evidence of Things not seen: The Sentence is fully given in the Epistle to the Hebrews, *For if we sin wilful-*

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ly, after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sins, but a certain fearful Looking for of Judgement and fiery Indignation, which shall devour the Adversaries: He that despised Moses's Law died without Mercy under two or three Witnesses; of how much sorer Punishment (suppose ye) shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under Foot the Son of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy Thing, and hath done Despite unto the Spirit of Grace, Heb. x. 26, 27, 28, 29. We may very well conclude, that after we are cut off from Grace, and Death intervenes, there remains no more Expiation and Satisfaction for Sins.

I think I have vindicated the Justice of God in this Point, That he must either have not made us at all, or to a very mean Purpose, if he had not left us Freedom of Will, to be either good, or incurably bad. The Doctor says, it is incongruous to the Goodness of God, to create human and rational Nature in such a Manner as to leave it in a Possibility of falling into incurable Wickedness; it is as much as to say, it is incongruous to the Goodness of God, to create Freedom of Will in such a Manner as to leave it perfectly free. Reason, or, which is the same, eternal Truth in our Minds, cannot err; but we have something attached to human Nature that is not Reason, otherwise we should be in a perfect angelick State, and fit, even without putting off our Flesh and Blood, for Heaven. Then the Freedom of our Will taking Part with some treacherous Passions within us, practises a Tyranny over that Reason, and renders Men too often incurably bad.

The Doctor pleads hard for Annihilation, if this incurable Scheme must take Place, not considering that Annihilation it self is an Eternal Punishment to a rational Creature, and as incurable as any State he so much regrets.

I have already sufficiently exposed his fiery Punishments and Purgations: Let me add, a Man may be made as sufficient a Convert to Fact, by being shewn a Fire, as by being roasted therein a thousand Years. But if the Doctor wants to make Converts to Righteousness, the Burning of Sinners will never do that Work. The Doctor says, in the other World the Wicked have nothing else to do but to repent, their Sins will be starved for want of Food; there is no Ambition in the Flames of Hell, nor Scope for Lust. The Doctor should consider the *Fomes peccati* does not lie in the external Means, but in the Heart and Core of the Sinner himself; he may be habitually wicked, though he is not always in the same Act of Sin: If his Father is not in the Way to destroy, he may not want a wicked Will,

nor

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nor a corrupt Inclination to destroy his Country and his Father too: And the Doctor never thinks of one Thing, that the Grace of God is no where promised to be in Hell, to ripen the Repentance of the Damned.

I have before proved, that Repentance in the Grave is not the Repentance that entitles us to Eternal Happiness; our Actions there, and our Actions in this Life, are differently imputed to us; moreover it renders our Incarnation and Probation in this World intirely vain; it overthrows all the Terms of Salvation in the Gospel.

When the Doctor comes to the Horrors of Eternal Punishments, I cannot fail to join with him: Human Nature is shocked at the Thoughts thereof. He says, there is no Proportion between the Punishment and the Crime; this is a bold Assertion, and more than he can possibly know: There is something in the Eternal Laws of Justice too deep for us to penetrate; human Reason can never account for the Satisfaction of Christ. As God is not only an infinite Being, but our Sovereign, our Creator, our Eternal King; to measure our Offences by mathematical Calculation against him is very hard to perform. Offences against Man require Restitution, but we can make none to God: When, therefore, we have out-gone all his Terms of Pardon and Forgiveness, and the Congruity of the Punishment comes upon us, how far it will go we cannot tell.

It is certain every Sin we commit is against an infinite Being, and God will not, after he has made us frail, punish us with eternal Misery for that Frailty: But the Case of the Damned is far from this; they must live in a known Sin, in the continual Practice of Disobedience to God, resisting his Grace, and bidding Defiance to his Mercies; they must be in a State of a voluntary Excommunication from his Presence, and die in that Manner, without Repentance, Sorrow, and Contrition: Surely these Crimes want no Aggravation, committed against a Being who has the compleatest Right to our Obedience and our Love! A Man who can cast away all Thoughts of God, when he exists by his Power, and moves by his Goodness, who can say in his Heart, *There is no God*; his Crimes will bear no Softening, no Mitigation; Eternal Justice will measure out his Punishment and his Doom. Here is a wide Distance betwixt a light Sin, as the Doctor calls it, and a continued, sedate, resolved, cool, ungrateful State of Rebellion against God. I would not therefore have the Doctor diminish the Question before us, but let it have its Height, Depth, and

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Breadth; a Creature shall receive Existence from the Power of God, shall pass through the World with nothing he can independantly call his own, but shall cloath his Back, feed his Belly, and recreate his Mind with the Bounties of Providence every Day, every Hour, and every Minute; yet this Man, who cannot suck in a Breath of Air but what belongs to his Creator, shall despise that God, and sell the Wounds of his only Son for nothing: He shall, without any Sense of Love and Gratitude, prefer an unlawful Pleasure, both to God, and all his Offers of Eternal Happiness. Thus the Question is to be stated, and not with the slight Strokes of the Doctor's Pen: I say, Imagination cannot form an Idea of a viler Wretch than this; and then come to determine what will be his Fate. But our Doctor, to my great Surprize, lays no Stress upon this Side of the Question; he has forgot all his Flourishes here, and his Colours are faint and dead; but he lets his Fancy loose in describing the Pains of the Damned; the Stone, the Fever, and the Iliack Passion are each very heavy to endure for Eternity. However, as we have only metaphorical Relations in the Scripture of the Pains of Hell, and there Eternity is expressly laid down, I should rather mitigate the Pains, and keep up to the Eternity, if the Fancy is so very tender. It is a melancholy Subject; I would draw a Curtain over it, if it was not necessary to vindicate the Authority of divine Revelation, and a received Doctrine of the Church. *Summum jus est summa injuria*: The strictest Law is the highest Injury, is very wrong applied in this Case, where there is so much Mercy, and so many Terms of Pardon, that a Sinner must be abandonedly wicked to fall into a State of Damnation. As to the Pains of Hell, except the mental ones, I am very willing to be reserved: I have before prepared Darknefs, and if we add Despair thereto, no Man will be fond of an Habitation there, even if there were no Flames; of them I would speak sparingly, as being unwilling to overthrow an established Opinion, nor having any Commission so to do. The Doctor closes with a very great Flourish, That the Time will come, when the Eternity of Hell Torments will be as odious as Transubstantiation: I believe it is pretty odious already with the wicked Part of the World, and the more Deism comes in Fashion, the more odious Hell it self will be; these Men make God a very careless Governour, and an insignificant Creator; they make him like the Ostrich, lay its Eggs in the Sand, and leave the Sun to hatch them. Hell, I believe, is no agreeable Place to the Sinner in his Prosperity, to the great wicked Man in the Height of his Power, nor to the Oppressor; though, without

without Respect of Persons, they all must lie down at last, and submit to the Power of God.

The Doctor brings up the Rear with some Fathers, who were all evidently against him except *Origen*; and *Justin Martyr* is alledged with a Quotation that stares him full in the Face on the other Side of the Question; for he says, They are punished as long as they exist, or till God pleases to take away their Torments; from whence it is plain, he asserted the Punishments of some were Eternal. In like Manner *St. Jerome* is produced in a very unfair Method, his most explanatory Passages being left out, and are these, *viz.*

“ To all the Saints * the Punishments will be evident, of those
“ who, instead of Gold, Silver, and precious Stone, have built
“ upon the Foundation of the Lord, Hay, Wood, and Stubble.
“ the Fuel of Everlasting Fire.

“ We believe the Devil, and all Gain-sayers and impious Men,
“ who say in their Heart, there is no God, will have Eternal
“ Torments.”

As for the Doctor's farther Flourishes upon the Eternity of Hell Torments, and the Unmercifulness of that Notion, it has Scripture, and the universal Testimony of the Church on its Side; and if some Fathers, and others *St. Augustin* mentions, mercifully provided Rest for the lower Sort of Sinners, they did not totally take away the Eternity of Hell Torments: The Words are, *Vel quibusdam eorum nolunt credere poenam sempiternam; Who would excuse some from Eternal Punishments.*

To conclude: I have transcurforily taken a View of the Doctor's Notions, and brought him into the right Way. I hope I have done for the present treading the Courts of Death; a gloomy Journey I have had, with inexpressible Horrors and Agonies about me, when I am treating about the State of the Damned: I pity Mankind in their most degenerate State, and shall think my Labour well bestowed, if the perusing these Remarks will affect wicked Men, and bring them to Repentance before it is too late, and the Gates of Peace are shut upon them; and for this Time I recommend the Reader to Coolness and Impartiality, and bid him Farewel.

* *Omnium sanctorum oculis eorum supplicia monstrabantur, qui pro auro argento & lapide precioso ædificaverunt super fundamentum Domini scenum ligna stipulam ignis pabulum sempiterni, & sicut diaboli & omnium negatorum, atque impiorum qui dixerunt in corde suo non est Deus, credimus æterna tormenta, Hieron. Com. in Isaiah lxvi. at the End.*

THE

Translator's Conclusion.

H U S I have brought the Reader through the Mansions of the Dead; and I leave him to his own Fate, whether he will chuse the happy or unhappy ones for himself. I wish this Book would make its Way to the Courts of Princes, and inform even Ministers of State, that no Power, or Grandour, though it may cover Violence, Corruption, and Oppression, can protect them from that long Voyage, beyond the Stars, to outer Darkness; where their Habitations are already marked, before their flattering Epitaphs upon their Monuments are even made here.

As to the Performance it self, I must inform the Reader, that when the Doctor's Book, *Of the State of the Dead*, stole into the World, one was brought to me; and when my Thoughts had been for some Time before awakened upon this Subject, by an unhappy Controversy arisen concerning Prayers for the Dead, my Curiosity led me through the whole. I found him very imperfect in his Account, and very erroneous in several Particulars; and that his Book would please more for its Heresies, than for the Beauty of its Style, and the Treasures of Learning therein; for I am not ignorant of the vitiated Taste of the Age in which I live.

As the Book it self gave a great many uncommon and noble Hints, I imagined I could not perform a more agreeable Service to Religion, than by

by baulking the Deists of the Age of a mischievous Translation, by publishing one with Remarks; in which I have pursued his Hints, as far as Philosophy, Reason, and Revelation would permit me to go; and have explained his Errours, without that Pedantry, Bigotry, Warmth, and Heat which, as I have observed before, parboil all religious Controversies.

The Author himself flourished in the *Golden Age* of King CHARLES the Second, when Learning and Politeness were in their full Perfection and Glory; when none were discontented, except Politicians, who always find dark and gloomy Paths, in the brightest Reigns, to tread in. He had his Education in more muddy and troublesome Times; for, I find, he was admitted Pensioner under Sr. Tillotson, in *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*, in *Jun. Anno 1651*. This was that great Tillotson, (then a young Pupil-Monger, and Batchelor of Arts,) who had been greater still, if he had despised the Grandour of this World, and adhered only to the Richness of his own Genius. The Pupil and his Master went Hand in Hand together, and swam always upon the Surface of the Times; whether by good Fortune, or Choice, I will not here pretend to say.

Dr. Cudworth, the great Man, who wrote that incomparable Book, the *Intellectual System*; (to whom I am more proud to say, that I am related in Blood, than even to Sackville,) was removed from the Mastership of *Clare-Hall*, to that of *Christ's-College*, in the Year 1654, and carried with him this young Plant, who began to thrive upon his Transplantation, and had the Honour to be made Fellow of that College in the Year 1657. In the Year 1658 he was admitted Master of Arts, and in the Year 1661 he was made senior Proctor.

He wrote his *Theory of the Earth*, at a Time when every great Performance was looked upon, by the Prince, to be a Gem, and to add a Splendour to his Reign. He was Master of Two polite Languages at once, when too many learned Men scarce ever arrive at One, and translated his own Book from *Latin* into *English*, as *Hobbes* did his *Leviathan*, and made that *English* the Standard for succeeding Ages; so that whatever Errours might be in his Theory, his Language and his Fancy made Amends for all; and King *Charles* dwelt with Pleasure upon this Philosophical Romance; as indeed it deserved to be called no better: For I do not find his Theory has had many Followers, though a vast Number of Admirers, for which I congratulate the Bookseller's good Fortune, and the Doctor's happy Talents. But as to the Philosophical Part, I have taken it to Pieces, within the narrow Compass of a *Journal* *, which I shall give in full, that the Reader may have a Notion how ridiculous his *Hypothesis* was.

Mr. GAYLARD,

I Have a Set of Friends who frequently divert themselves in my Company over a Bottle of Champaign; we do not speak one Word till the Pint a-peice is out; and then we begin with a dry Question or two about News, till our Spirits warm, and our Sense flies about like the Wine itself; and then we formed the following Conversation.

Cleanthes. A certain Lord said in my hearing the other Night, that it was impossible any Change should happen on this side the Grave; for all

* See, the *Loyal Observer Revived*: Or, *Gaylard's Journal*, No. VII. Jan. 19. 1722-3.

human Affairs were fastened with a Nail to the Heavens, called the Quadruple Alliance.

Leontius. If so, what shall we say to Dr. Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*? I have read that Book with a great Deal of Pleasure; the fine Flow of Fancy, and the Number of beautiful Images, *Cleanthes*, made me call it the *Philosophical Romance*. One would think, Dr. Burnet made the World itself at a Pastry-Cook's Shop; and gilded it to hang up for a Sign, till the Winds, Rains, Heats and Frosts, cracked it, and made it just in the Form of our present Globe.

I immediately answered. I cannot, when I consider the present Constitution of our Earthly Globe, form any other Notion thereof, than that it is framed by the most wondrous Art: I want no Deluges or Earthquakes to mend it; for Fancy cannot form in my Mind a Spot more agreeable to the Eye, or more grateful to the Sense.

He seems to have an invincible Prejudice against the Water, and cannot conceive how a *Terraqueous Globe* can please the Eye; because, says he, the hollow Channels and Chasms in which this Water is contained abstractedly viewed would look horrid to the Sight.

Cleanthes. The same may be said of the fine Garden of *Versailles*. Would you think so wise a Man as the late King of *France*, could form a Garden of Pleasure and Grandour, with an oblong Chasm called a Canal? Suppose the Water taken out; what a dismal Inequality would it shew? How different from the fine and equal superficies of a Garden.

The same Objection will hold against a fine Woman's Face. Could you suppose the Skin taken off, and the Flesh scooped away, what a dismal

dismal Hollow would she have upon her Cheeks? How far different from the beautiful Idea of a fair Woman? Well, but to acquaint you farther with his Hypothesis, it is thus: A Philosopher coming from the higher Orbs, he approaches ours; and as he comes still more near, he perceives the different Face it bears.

I will only transpose the Scene, and suppose him to meet a pretty Woman in his way; we shall find his Opinion from time to time of the Appearance, till he comes to touch even her Nose.

His first View from the Moon would be that she is a *Terraqueous Globe*; her Eyes are Water, and the rest of her Face Land.

When he comes below the Moon, she appears a *Mountainous Globe*; there he would see the bald Top of her Forehead, and the long Range of her Nose upon the Continent; he would be very much puzzled to find how those Mountains could be formed, or the Globe appear so rude and irregular, and that it must be the Consequence of some Degeneracy or Decay.

The third visible Form is of a *broken Globe*; for we will suppose the Traveller to light upon the Tip of her Nose instead of *Pike Teneriff*.

From thence he views the unequal Swelling upon her Cheeks; an horrid Chasm called a Dimple upon her Chin; a monstrous rise of Mountainous Land above her two Eyes, and the horrid Declivities on each Side of her Nose; surely, says the Philosopher, here are the Ruins of a fine Globe. This shattered Mass was at first designed to be more regular. I can no more believe this to have been the Face at first produced, than I can believe the Temple of *Jerusalem*

salem sacked by the *Babylonians*, was then in the same Posture *Solomon* built it in.

Let us therefore examine the Philosophical Account how this Change came.

According to *Epicurus's* System, the Water and Land at first were all mixed together. The Earth was condensed by the Heat of the Sun and Winds, and the Water was squeezed into two hollow Places called the Eyes; as for the Nose and Forehead, while some Parts of the Earth shrunk and sunk in this Manner, others would not; and these standing still made the Mountains upon the Face. Now our Author endeavours to confute this grave System of *Epicurus*; by asserting, that Winds and Rain cannot squeeze out Water: But here I must beg his Pardon, for I have seen the Wind my self, squeeze out Water from a fair Lady's Eyes and Cheeks, as I have been walking with her in the Fields.

To return; *Aristotle's* Scheme was thus, the Fair was all Eye at once; but it dried up in certain Places, and left what we call the Face or dry Land.

But, *says our Author to this*, did ever Flesh and Blood know a dried Marsh produce Mountains? How could the Nose and Head, and protuberant Cheeks, be formed by this Scheme.

Earthquakes, if called in, will but poorly solve the Hypothesis. I should rather suspect an Earthquake when I see the Bridge broken down. A Mole or a Wen may be compared to a fictitious Island, or Mountain; but the Nose is a standing and coeval Ridge upon the Face, not produced in that unnatural Manner; and the vast Chasm of the Mouth, in all probability is of equal Standing and Duration; and as like Mount
Aetna,

Aetna, or *Vesuvius* in the Female Sex, always belching out Flames. Can any one tell the Origin of the Nose, in what Year of *Rome*, or what Olympiad, it was born, or how it grew from a little one, how the Face groaned when it brought it forth? We have often heard of Cities thrown down by Earthquakes; but who ever heard of a Nose formed by them? We have heard of many Prodigies, but of no Prodigy like this.

To conclude, with the most true and probable Hypothesis, it was thus: As Nature works in the most simple beautiful and uniform Manner, the Face at first was a perfect globular Body, with a plain even Superficies, without Eyes, or Nose, or Mouth; but it not being so solid within, the Crust broke, and let in the Abyss upon it, from which the two Seas are made, and the broken Ruins formed the Nose, and other Inequalities on the Face.

Unhappy Degeneracy of that Ancient Form! How could I have kissed and hugged a Woman made so Equal and so Fair without ever a Mouth? Horrible Chasm from whence all human Mischiefs proceed.

Leontius. You are pleased to be pleasant with what you do not understand; what do you think of his fine Thought of the Ring about *Saturn*?

Cleanthes. Yes, I will explain it; you see this Apple-Pye we have here for our Supper: Suppose the two Poles to be fallen in; the outside Crust is just the form of *Saturn* with his supposed Ring. My dear *Leontius*, to return to his globular Scheme: Here is a Mince-Pye; according to the *Burnetian* Hypothesis, all Pyes ought to be originally round; this Minced-Pye at first was
so,

so, but it being hollow within, the Crust broke, and left it a flat and irregular Body, with jagged Corners to it.

Orthodoxus. In short, Gentlemen, I entirely disapprove of Dr. Burnet's Theory, because it derogates from the Wisdom of Providence; whereas, in my Opinion, the Earth in it self, as it now is, will not bear the least human Criticism upon it, except one, that it carries wicked Men therein.

To confine Providence to work in Circles, is so audacious, that my Blood rises against the Impiety; a Circle, or a Globe, strikes upon the Fancy of your Author. I would ask him, how long he could travel upon such an even Globe with Pleasure? An Inn, or a Sign-Post, are Inequalities upon the Superficies, that make it look rough and disagreeable.

For my part, I admire the Earth for its beautiful Variety. The Hills, the Dales, the Rivers, and the Woods, distinctly considered, may grow nauseous to the Eye, and pall upon the Sense, but Variety makes all agreeable; the mutual Interchange and Mixture of Objects, relieve the Fancy, and refresh the Spirits. The Mountains sometimes bald, and sometimes covered with the verdant Woods, shew the Difference between naked and cultivated Nature.

Let us suppose two Plans for Gardens to be formed beautiful to the Eye; let one be a plain Superficies, and the other rough; I say, that Art will give ten thousand more Beauties to the latter, than to the first. May we not see this in the Garden of *St. Cloud*, belonging to the Regent of *France*, and *Marly*; take away the Masonry of *Versailles*, there is no Comparison.

View but the Beauty of *Dovedale* in *Derbyshire*, it is only an Heap of huge, unformed, mishapen Stones.

You

You would imagine the whole, the scattered Pieces of this mighty Rock, blown up with Gun-Powder; yet the green Shrubs covering those Rocks, the murmuring Brook running between them, and the stupendous Ascent adorned with Flowers, render that Place more agreeable than human Art can possibly perform. The Eye, the Fancy, and all the Senses of a Man who has a Taste of natural Beauties, will longer dwell there, than upon all the Art bestowed upon *Versailles*.

I can by no Means come into Dr. Burnet's * *Ante-diluvian* World; unless for this Reason, that I should not covet one Part of that *Globe* more than another. Whereas, in my Opinion, nothing will bear a lasting Enjoyment, but a wise Man and a virtuous Woman together.

I conclude, with observing, I never knew the brightest Man upon Earth, meddle with Reflections upon the Wisdom and Power of God, but he proved himself a Fool in the Attempt.

Thus ended our Conference, which if, for the sake of Piety and good Manners, you communicate to the Publick, you will oblige yours,

ORTHODOXUS.

If this Account of his Hypothesis seems too light and ridiculous, I say, it is neither too light, nor too ridiculous for the *Hypothesis* it self: I need not repeat here the more grave and serious Objections against his *Theory*, scattered up and down in my Remarks.

* See Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, Cap. 12.

As to the second Part, the *Conflagration*, this depends more upon Revelation, than Philosophy, and upon the Pleasure of God, what he will do with this Earth in its Decay, when it becomes useless to Man, as will certainly be its Fate, in Time. I cannot, therefore, too much admire at the Absurdity of the *Aristotelian Opinion* of the *Eternity* of the *World*, when we see it wear out every Day: And we may as well say, a Pair of Shoes will last a Man's whole Life, as that a material Globe can endure to Eternity *ex parte post*; and much less have existed so *ex parte ante*: And whether it will be burnt, or renewed, or perform its Orbit round the Sun and its own Axis, when it shall become an uncultivated and barren Earth, without even living Creatures thereon, is no philosophical, or hypothetical Enquiry, and has Relation only to the Will of God.

To return. After the Revolution in 1688, he wrote a Book in *Quarto*, called, *Archæologie Philosophicæ*; a Performance highly grateful to the Deists of the Age. I am sorry to say, he took so much Pains to oblige them; though I will not absolutely determine he was one himself: *The State of the Dead* supposes the contrary, unless he designed to gratify them another Way: But this I will venture to say, he was no sound Divine, and believed Christianity only by Halves; and therefore the high Court of *Chancery* thought fit to suppress a Translation into *English* of this Book; and if it is not fit for the *English* Language, it is equally pity it should walk about in that universal Tongue, the *Latin*; and the only Remedy I know, is to take the same Method I have done with *The State of the Dead*; if a learned Pen, with Leisure and Inclination, will undertake the Task; for a weak
and

and imperfect Answer will do more Harm than Good.

There is a great deal of Learning in the Book ; and I would not condemn good Sentiments for keeping Company with ill ones : It is like the World, a Mixture of Good and Bad ; and a critical Judgement separates one from the other ; preserves the Wheat, and condemns the Chaff to unquenchable Fire. I could never find, that Errors can stand in the Face of Truth ; they only shine with Glowworm-feebleness in the Dark. This Way spoils numerous Editions of pestiferous Books, and, indeed, extinguishes Heresy in its Birth.

He has his Eye to the *threefold* Division of the World, as he calls it, the *Obscure*, *Fabulous*, and *Historical*. The *Obscure*, he says, is before the *Deluge* ; the *Fabulous* from thence to the *Olympiads* ; and the *Historical* from the *Olympiads* to the *present Age*. The first he terms *obscure*, though, indeed, it is far preferable to the second ; and a more punctual and exact Account is given thereof in the Scripture, than even the most forward Expectations could come up to : And yet even these Accounts he endeavours to fabulize away ; he industriously renders obscure, and enervates the most noble and most evincing Testimonies for the Truth of divine Revelation : And I may venture to assert, that the *Mosaic* Account of the Creation of the World is the Fountain of all the antient Philosophy throughout the whole World : His first Book is intirely taken up with that Philosophy diffused over several Nations, and contracted afterwards amongst the *Grecian* Sects.

His second Book which, indeed, ought to be the first, is upon what he is pleased to call, *The ob-*
scure

scure Age of the World. How far he agrees, or breaks off from *Moses*, he ingenuously tells us in the second Paragraph of his 8th Chapter. Says he, "The *Hexaemeron* and the *Theory* agree, as to the first Origination of Things, as they both suppose the Chaos to be the Subject Matter for the Formation of the World: They agree likewise in the general Order; the inanimate World first, and the animal one afterwards; in the rest then as to the Form, Restriction, Manner, and Time of Producing this World, they differ much."

We find here his Design was to allow only the first two Verses of the Book of *Genesis* to be true, and to reject all the rest; a very close Connection this, with Truth and Fable together, and a very odd Account of the Veracity and Authentickness of the sacred Writings.

He will by no Means allow *Moses* to treat of the *Creation* of the *Universe*, but only of the *Sub-lunary World*, our little Globe; so that all that *Moses* speaks of the *Stars*, and of the *Sun*, he supposes must be fabulous.

I have given this short Account, by which it appears what a large Portion of Christian Theology he lops away, by the Consequences to be deduced from this Scheme; and how far he contradicts the *Revelations* in the *New Testament*, will easily appear to any considering Man.

The posthumous Book, *De Statu Mortuorum*, is furnished with some Notions harsh and prejudicial to Christianity, and with others to the Power of God; and, without Remarks, would be a pernicious Book; not to mention several hasty Errors, for want of a thorough Theological Genius; and, I believe, if his Preparations had come
K forth

forth against the Papists, mentioned by Mr. *Wilkinson* in his Preface, he would not have shaken the *Vatican*. His Way of Thinking was rather *Theatrical*, than *Theological*; though he certainly was a very learned, and a very ingenious Man.

He denies the *identical* Resurrection of the Body; and the *Eternity* of Hell Torments: Whereas it is a most certain and true Observation, he who attacks an established and received *Tenet* of any Religion, shakes the *whole*, especially when it has had the universal Run of *Tradition* on its Side, from the first Institution of that Religion. For this Reason the new Disputes of the modern *Arians*, and *Semi-Arians*, &c. as far as they gain Ground, they gain upon *Christianity* at the same Time, and perform a grateful Turn for the *Deists*.

His Book, *De fide & Officiis Christianorum*, was likewise a posthumous Work, and came into the World in the same Manner as the other; from whence I would advise every wise Man to take the Hint, to trust no *Executors*, or *Overseers*, with Papers, but, before Death closes his Eyes, to deliver them to the Flames.

Who this *Wilkinson* is, who, being only a Supervisor of his Will to see some Legacies paid, undertakes to publish his most secret posthumous Works, of all Sorts, I do not know, and can judge less by his *Prefaces*: He may perform this Office, to vindicate the Memory of his departed Friend, for ought I know: I wish him a more joyful Resurrection than they have given to his Fame, and I think I am his best Friend in setting him right, and wish no learned Man may hereafter meet with his Fate.

This

Burnet, Thomas

De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium Tractatus. Of The State Of The Dead, And
Of Those that are to Rise In Two Volumes

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